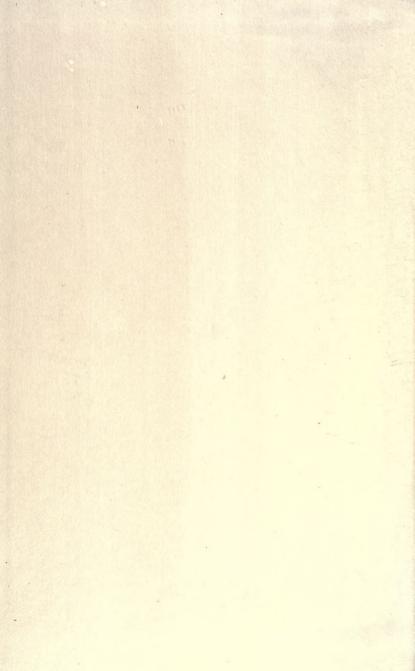
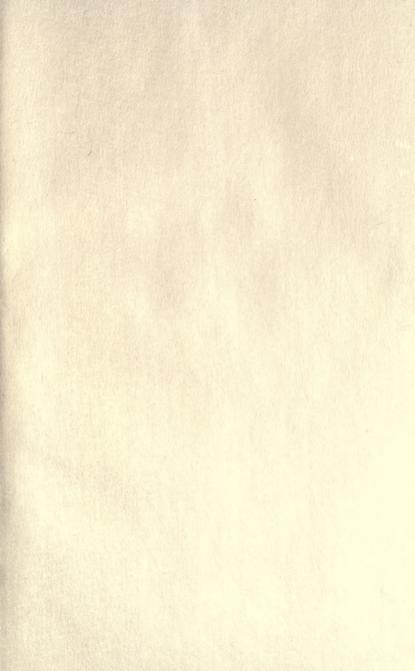
# A MUBICIONAY Obaniis Empire

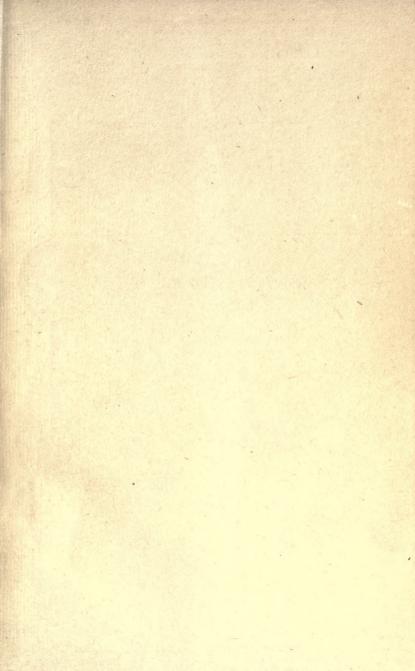


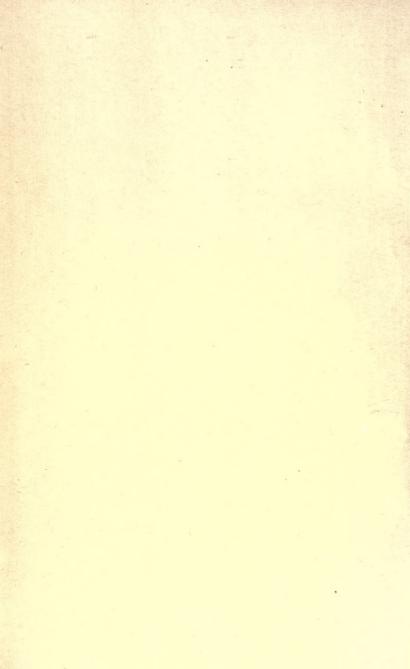












# LEAGUE OF THE EMPIRE TEXT-BOOKS

III

#### League of the Empire Text=Books

GRADED SERIES

(SPITZEL IMPERIAL EDUCATION TRUST)

EDITED BY PROFESSOR A. F. POLLARD, M.A.
Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford; Professor of English History in the University of London

Ι

THE BRITISH EMPIRE: ITS PAST, ITS PRESENT, AND ITS FUTURE

By various writers

II

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND ITS HISTORY
By EDWARD G. HAWKE, B.A.

THE STORY OF THE EMPIRE
By Gerald T. Hankin, B.A.





Nehon Joronte

VICE-ADMIRAL HORATIO VISCOUNT NELSON.



# THE STORY OF THE EMPIRE

BY GERALD T. HANKIN, B.A.,

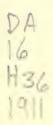
ASSISTANT MASTER AT KING'S COLLEGE SCHOOL, WIMBLEDON

PUBLISHED FOR THE LEAGUE OF THE EMPIRE

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

119889 -

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.



## EDITORIAL COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF THE EMPIRE

- H. E. EGERTON, M.A., Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford (*Chairman*).
- H. A. L. FISHER, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford, and of the British Academy.

Mrs. Ord Marshall (Hon. Sec.).

C. H. K. MARTEN, M.A., Eton College.

JOHN MURRAY, M.A., F.S.A., J.P., D.L.

A. F. POLLARD, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, and Professor of English History in the University of London (*Editor*).

SAMUEL L. SPITZEL, Esq.

#### PREFATORY NOTE

This is the third volume of the series of Empire Text-Books written for the League of the Empire in accordance with the bequest of the late Mr. Spitzel.

It is intended both for the middle forms of Secondary schools and for the highest classes of Elementary schools. In view of this latter object, and of the fact that the vast majority of future citizens of the Empire receive all the preparation they ever get for the intelligent exercise of their votes in Elementary schools, special stress has been laid upon Citizenship—i.e., upon those factors in History which have had the most direct and important bearing upon the development of the Empire, and upon the rights, duties, and responsibilities of the citizen. Minutiæ of facts and dates have been reduced to the narrowest limits; but the connection between History and Geography has been emphasized throughout, and an attempt has been made to explain in the simplest possible language what the British Empire is, and how it grew.

For permission to reproduce various illustrations, the grateful acknowledgments of the League are due to the Royal United Service Institution, Mr. John Murray, the *Canadian Mail*, and the Canadian Pacific Railway. The line drawings are by Mr. E. P. Allinson.

A. F. P.



## CONTENTS

## BOOK I

THE	BR	ITI	SH	EMP	IRE.
TITI	ווע		OII.	177.1	11/1

	I.	PHYSICAL FEATURES	. 3
	II.	CONQUESTS, IMMIGRATIONS, AND THE BLENDING	ř
		OF RACES	. 9
	III.	THE GROWTH OF NATIONALITY	- 15
	IV.	THE EXPANSION OF GREAT BRITAIN -	- 46
	v.	THE ONE DISRUPTION	- 60
	VI.	SCOTLAND, WALES, MAN, AND THE CHANNEL	
		ISLANDS	- 65
	VII.	IRELAND	72
1	ZIII.	THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION	79
	IX.	COMMERCIAL EXPANSION AND FOREIGN POLICY	86
	x.	POLITICAL EMANCIPATION	92
	XI.	CENTRAL GOVERNMENT	97
	XII.	LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND -	- 103
2	KIII.	PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY	107
2	KIV.	DOWNING STREET AND THE COLONIES -	- 117
		BOOK II	
		THE SELF-GOVERNING STATES	
		I. THE DOMINION OF CANADA (WITH	
		NEWFOUNDLAND)	
	I.	PHYSICAL FEATURES	125
		COLONIZATION AND CONQUEST	129
		EARLY DAYS OF THE CANADIAN COLONIES -	
		EXPANSION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT	· 145
		vii	-43

#### CONTENTS

V. CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT -

PAGE

- 150

V	1	1	1

CHAPTER

VI.	CANADA TO-DAY: HER	RESOUR	CES ANI	DIDEAL	S	153
VII.	NEWFOUNDLAND -	-	-	-	-	162
	II. THE COMMONWE	EALTH	OF AUS	TRALIA	1	
	DYTHOLOGAT BRANCHES		_			-6-
	PHYSICAL FEATURES EARLY DAYS -	-	-	-	-	165 168
	GOLD AND DEVELOPME	- >7775		-	-	
						177
	AUSTRALIAN GOVERNME					
V.	THE RESOURCES OF AU	STRALIA	-	-	-	188
	III. THE DOMINIO	N OF N	E337 7E	TAND		
	III. THE DOMINIO	N OF N	EW ZEF	LAND		
1.	PHYSICAL FEATURES	-	~	-	-	192
II.	MAORIS AND EARLY SE	TTLERS	-	-	-	195
	PROGRESS -	-	-	-	-	197
IV.	MODERN DEVELOPMENT	S		-	-	203
	IV. THE UNION	OF SOU	TH AFE	RICA		
_						0
	PHYSICAL FEATURES		-			208
	NATIVE RACES AND EU					211
	BRITISH RULE DOWN TO	THE	GREAT T	REK	-	216
	CAPE COLONY -	-	-	-	-	220
	NATAL	-	-	-	-	224
	THE ORANGE FREE STA	TE	-	-	-	227
	THE TRANSVAAL -			-		229
	THE SOUTH AFRICAN W					231
	RHODESIA AND NYASAI			-	-	237
X.	SOUTH AFRICA TO-DAY	-	-	-	-	240
	POC	KII	т			
	ВОС	11 21	1			
	INDIA, CROWN	COLO	MIES	AND		
	-			AND		
	PROTEC	TORA	TES			
	I. THE EMP	IRE OF	INDIA			
т	PHYSICAL FEATURES A	ND NAT	IVE POD	III ATION	J -	247
	HISTORY	-	- FOF	-	_	
	INDIA TO-DAY -			_	_	253 262
111.	INDIA 10-DA1	_	-	_	-	202

II. THE EAST INDIES	2						
CHAPTER II. THE EAST INDIES	5	PAGE					
		270					
II. STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND MALAY	STATES -	273					
III. THE FAR EAST		277					
III. THE WEST INDIE	S						
I. THE LEEWARD ISLANDS -		284					
2. BARBADOS		284					
3. THE WINDWARD ISLANDS -		285					
4. THE BAHAMAS		286					
5. BRITISH HONDURAS -		287					
6. BRITISH GUIANA		287					
7. TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO -		288					
8. JAMAICA		289					
IV. BRITISH EAST AND WEST	r AFRICA						
I. BRITISH EAST AFRICA		292					
I. BRITISH EAST AFRICA -		292					
2. UGANDA		294					
3. ZANZIBAR		296					
4. SOMALILAND		296					
II. WEST AFRICA		297					
I. GAMBIA		297					
2. SIERRA LEONE		298					
3. THE GOLD COAST		299					
4 AND 5. BRITISH NIGERIA -		300					
V. BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT AND TH	E SUDAN -	303					
VI. SEA-LINKS OF THE EMPIRE							
I. THE MEDITERRANEAN -		314					
2. THE ATLANTIC		317					
3. THE INDIAN OCEAN		320					
4. THE PACIFIC		322					



# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

				то	FACE	PAGE
VICE-ADMIRAL HORA	TIO VIS	COUNT	NELSON	Frontis	piec	e
HARLECH CASTLE, W	ALES	-	-	-	-	15
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE		-	-	-	_ '	43
Oliver Cromwell		-	-	-	-	51
THE DUKE OF WELL	INGTON	, K.G.	-	-	-	59
THE CASTLE AND PR	INCES S	STREET	GARDEN	s, Edi	N-	
BURGH -	-	-	-	-	-	67
DUBLIN -	-	- '	-	-	-	73
THE RIGHT HON. W	. E. G	LADSTO	NE .	-	-	88
Benjamin Disraeli,	EARL	OF BEA	CONSFIE	LD	-	96
WINDSOR CASTLE, FR	ROM TH	Е ТНАМ	IES	-	-	108
ARMY TYPES: BRITIS	SH REC	GIMENTS	-	-	-	114
THE Houses of Par	LIAME	NT AND	WESTM	INSTER		
HALL -	-	-	-	-	-	116
QUEBEC -	-	-	-	-	-	135
SIR JOHN MACDONAL	.D	~	-	-	-	147
SYDNEY HARBOUR, I	NEW So	оитн W	ALES	-	-	168
SIR JOSEPH BANKS	-	~	-	-	-	171
ARMY TYPES: COLOR	NIAL R	EGIMEN:	rs	-	-	187
IN THE AUSTRALIAN	Bush	-	-	-	-	189
Mount Pembroke,	FROM	MILFOR	D Soun	ID, NE	w	
ZEALAND	-	- "	-	_	_	193
SIR GEORGE GREY	-	-	-	-	_	TOO

TO FACE PAGE

TABLE MOUNTAIN AND CAPE	lown	-	-	21
DAVID LIVINGSTONE	-		-	23
WARREN HASTINGS	-	-	-	257
HINDU WOMEN SPINNING BE	SIDE THE	OLD JA	IN	
TEMPLE AT AMBER -	-	-	-	265
Hong Kong Harbour -	-	~	-	280
SIR WALTER RALEIGH -		-	-	283
PORT ROYAL, JAMAICA -	7	-	-	290
GENERAL ELIOTT, AFTERWARDS	Lord Hea	THFIELD	-	314
LIST OF LINE	DRAWII	NGS		
				PAGI
A MAILED KNIGHT	-	60 T	-	2
BRITISH FLINT INSTRUMENT	-	-	-	3
BRITISH BRONZE AXE -	-		-	14
British Long-Bow	-	-		22
Nelson's Foul-Weather Har	· -	-	,	59
Nelson's Dirk used when a	MIDSHIPM	AN	-	91
Muzzle-Loader used in Crim	IEAN WAR	-	-	122
FIELD HOWITZER, 1910 -	-	-	,100	122
Model of Cook's Ship -	-	-	-	124
Australian Boomerang -	-	-	-	180
NEW ZEALAND WOODEN CLUB	-	-		207
An East Indiaman (circa 176	o) -	-	· _	244
MEDAL OF QUEEN ELIZABETH	-	-	-	246
MEDAL OF CROMWELL -	-	-	-	246
Tippo Sahib's Sword -	- ,	-	-	252
Indian Tiger-Claw Dagger		-	***	269

# BOOK I THE BRITISH ISLES



A MAILED KNIGHT.



BRITISH FLINT INSTRUMENT.

### THE BRITISH ISLES

#### CHAPTER I

#### PHYSICAL FEATURES

Position—Extent—Climate—Soil—Mountain barriers and central plains of Great Britain—Sea-gates and natural routes inland—Coast defence—Ireland.

THE British Isles lie north-west of the Continent of Europe, of which they were once a part. They are a group of many islands rising on the European rock-shelf, and the narrow seas that flow between them and the mainland are of little depth. The largest among these islands are Great Britain, Ireland, and Man. The Shetlands, far away in the sea, are the northern outpost of the whole archipelago.

Great Britain is about 800 miles long; its breadth varies from 80 miles, between the Solway Firth and North Sea, to some 300 miles, south of the Thames. It is divided into three countries—England, Wales, and Scotland. The inhabitants of the whole archipelago are often called English, though the name only rightly applies to the people of one British country. Ireland is about one-third the size of Great Britain. The coast-line of both

the greater islands is deeply indented, especially on the western side, where they are buffeted by transatlantic storms.

This geographical position has had a profound effect upon the character and history of the British people. Being islanders, they are perforce born seamen; and the splendid fisheries of their shallow seas, said to be the finest in existence, have lined their shores with hardy fisherfolk. Again, islands that lie off the coast of Europe, facing America across the Atlantic, are favourably placed for commerce with the whole world; and the high tides which sweep twice daily from the ocean over their shallow sea-floors carry vast numbers of ships up the estuaries of the rivers. Moreover, the narrow seas separating Great Britain from the Continent have been a moat to guard her from the continual dread of foreign invasion, whilst they are not so wide as to be a barrier to friendly intercourse. The Channel between England and France is less than 25 miles wide in one place, and the North Sea narrows to little more than 250 miles between Scotland and Norway.

The British Isles lie in the temperate zone, far from extremes of heat and cold; and, as they are encircled to the north and west by open seas, their climate is milder than that of most other lands in the same latitude. For instance, the summers are far less hot and the winters less cold than those of Canada between the same latitudes of 50° and 60°. The winds are so variable that it is never possible to foretell the weather with any certainty, but the moist, warm winds from the Atlantic make

the west, particularly Ireland, the Cornish peninsula, and the north-west of Scotland, milder and wetter than the east, where, however, the summers are warmer.

The high lands of Great Britain are chiefly in the north and west. In the north Ben Nevis, the highest peak of the Grampians, rises 4,400 feet. The fertile narrow lowlands of Scotland, watered by the Forth and the Clyde, separate the mountainous north from the long range of Pennine uplands, which runs southward through the centre of Great Britain until it ends in the Peak of Derbyshire. Its highest points are the Cheviot Hills, between England and Scotland, and the Cumbrian Mountains, that run westward to the coast. Between them and the Southern Pennines lies the Lancashire and Cheshire Plain, watered by the Mersey, flowing, wide-mouthed, into the Irish Sea. Wales is covered by the Cambrian Mountains (Snowdon, 3,570 feet); and the moors of Devon and Cornwall rise 1.000 feet above sea-level. All these mountain fastnesses to the north and west of Britain became the final refuge of the early inhabitants from their enemies.

East and south of the Pennine Range lie the fertile eastern and central plains of England, stretching away to the North Sea. They are only broken by low ranges of hills, such as the chalky downs, which in old days served as boundaries between tribe and tribe rather than as barriers against the outland foe.

The great forests that once covered the plains of England, and sheltered bears, wolves, and outlaws,

have almost disappeared; and the marshes that once made an impassable morass of the Fen Country in the east have now been drained and cultivated. These plains are now the most fertile portion of the whole group of islands, and the best suited for wheat and fruits. The hop-gardens of Kent and the orchards of the West Country are fair to see, and so are the dairies of the western and eastern counties. Sheep, cattle, and corn were once the main produce of England, but in modern days population has gathered round the mineral wealth of the country and her seaports.

More important even than the nature of the soil are the natural ways into the country, the routes of the conqueror or settler in old days—the rivers, which have so often determined the position of towns and still retain their importance whether for commerce or defence.

The most obvious sea-gate from the south into the heart of England is the estuary of the Itchen, opening into Southampton Water, an important centre of sea-borne trade. The old tracks inland had to pass through gaps in the chalk downs, and on these roads sprang up cities, such as Salisbury and Winchester, for many years the capital of England. Eastward from Southampton, along the coast, lie the harbours which once constituted the main outlets to the Continent, the Cinque Ports. Only Dover retains its importance now that the coast-line has changed and that ships require deeper anchorage.

On the east the estuary of the Thames, the longest British river (220 miles), opens up the road into

the very heart of the country. Its tides are exceptionally strong, enabling large ships to float far up without difficulty. London was built on the lowest spot at which the river could be bridged. The city lay on a patch of firm ground, in the midst of marshes; it was therefore easy of defence, besides being the centre for all roads running east, north, and south; and from time immemorial it has been the largest town in the island. An invader-William the Conqueror, for instance—if he once got possession of London, was in a position to push straight across England. He would go westward along the Thames, between the Chiltern Hills and the Berkshire Downs, seize Oxford, the centre of the Midlands, and work his way through the low-lying country between the Cotswold Hills and the Wiltshire Downs till he reached the Bristol Channel, where the great river Severn flows down from the north-east into the Atlantic Ocean.

Wales is entirely shut in by the Severn and the Dee, which rise amongst its mountains. The Dee flows northwards, by the walls of Chester, into the Irish Sea, hard by the Mersey, where the great port of Liverpool now stands. Further north, on the broken coast of Scotland, the estuary of the Clyde was the home of stalwart fishermen and whalers before it became a great centre of ship-building and commerce. On the opposite side of the Scottish Lowlands the Firth of Forth opens on the North Sea, and provides a port for Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland. By this estuary, as by the more southern openings of the Tyne, the Tees, the Humber, and the Wash, invaders from the north

and east of Europe once entered Great Britain. In these days of great European fleets in the North Sea, the eastern sea-gates of their island are becoming once more of profound importance to the British people.

Ireland is as yet largely a land of bog and waste. Owing to her unhappy history, her natural wealth is only now slowly beginning to be explored. Her central plain is bounded by mountainous districts to the north, south, and west, and is watered by one great river, the Shannon, flowing into the Atlantic and several smaller streams which run into the Irish Sea.

#### CHAPTER II

CONQUESTS, IMMIGRATIONS, AND THE BLENDING OF RACES

55 B.C. TO A.D. 1066.

Early inhabitants—The Romans—Angles, Jutes and Saxons—Christianity—The coming of the Danes—Alfred the Great—Edgar the Peaceable—Canute—Edward the Confessor—The Norman Conquest.

THE first civilized explorer who has left us an account of Britain is Julius Cæsar. Some fifty years before Christ was born Cæsar paid two flying visits to the island, largely for the sake of saying that he had been to "the end of the world." His Roman soldiers found a barbarous people of Celtic race, dressed in skins, wearing war-paint, and offering human sacrifices, but fighting in chariots, tilling the

soil, working in metals, living in groups of huts defended by earthworks, and worshipping in wondrous temples of huge stones, relics of which remain to this day.

In A.D. 43 the Romans began to conquer and colonize Britain, and remained in the island for four hundred years. They built towns, with great openair amphitheatres, temples for their gods, and, later, when they became Christians, churches for the new faith. They worked the tin and iron mines, constructed bridges, military roads, and two huge walls across the island to keep out the Picts, the savage "painted men" of the north. They made the Britons into a nation of Romanized provincials, many of whom in the towns spoke Latin; they took also the pick of the fighters to serve in the Roman legions on the distant boundaries of the Empire. When, finally, in A.D. 410, the Romans withdrew to defend Rome against barbarian invaders, they left the Britons to some extent civilized and Christian. but unused to managing their own affairs or to combining for self-defence.

Due east from Britain lie the lands of North Germany, with the northern peninsula now known as Denmark, which were never subdued by the Romans. Pirates from the fierce heathen tribes of that region so often raided Britain that in Roman times there was a "Count of the Saxon shore," to guard the coast. Tradition tells that Vortigern, a native British king, invited their war-leaders to come over and help him against the Picts, who were attacking him by land. Certainly during the hundred years after the Romans departed, Teutonic

invaders from at least three tribes swept down upon Britain. They brought their families with them, and gradually settled there, exterminating, enslaving, or driving back the Britons. The Teutonic immigrants worked their way inland by three main routes. The Jutes settled in Kent, and to a certain extent in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. The Angles landed on the east, by the Humber, the Wash, and perhaps the Forth, and set up the kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia. The Saxons sailed into Southampton Water, and along the south coast, and founded West, South, Middle, and East Saxon kingdoms. Many English counties take their present names from these early settlements.

The Angles seem to have been the most important of the new settlers. The tribe migrated, leaving their old land desolate, and colonized much of Great Britain north of the Thames. The kings of the West Saxons claimed descent from the same Royal House as the kings of the Anglian kingdoms, and the Angles (English) have given their name to the whole country. The Scots, after their migration from Ireland, seem to have exercised a like dominant influence in Northern Britain.

The Britons, whom the Anglo-Saxons called Welsh (stranger), fought hard for three centuries. By that time most of those who had not been killed or enslaved had been driven back into the mountains of the north and west, or else had fled overseas to that corner of northern France which is called Brittany to this day. The Celtic element has remained in Britain, both through intermarriage

between the British women and the Anglo-Saxon settlers, and through the pure Celtic blood which still remains in Wales, Cornwall, the Highlands of Scotland, and perhaps amid the Cumbrian mountains.

The conquerors were battling fiercely amongst themselves in the intervals of fighting with their Welsh foes. Three principal kingdoms emerge from the strife of many petty kings—those of Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex. Each of these in turn held supremacy over all England, and in the ninth century Egbert, king of Wessex, succeeded in establishing a permanent claim to it. All succeeding sovereigns of England but four are descended from Egbert, who himself claimed descent from the ancient Anglian Royal House.

Christianity had been brought to the heathen Jutes of Kent two hundred years before Egbert's time by the Roman monk Augustine, and missionaries from the Celtic churches of Ireland and the Scottish settlement in North Britain had made their way amongst the Angles. At the Congress of Whitby, as far back as 664, the English Church agreed to conform to that of Rome; but it always maintained a somewhat independent attitude. The church was a valuable means of civilizing the wild and warlike Anglo-Saxons, and drawing them together into one people. It was organized throughout the land by the Archbishop of Canterbury. There was constant intercourse between the clergy of different districts, as well as frequent coming and going between England and the Christian parts of Europe. Latin was the language of the whole

Roman Catholic Church, so that the clergy of all lands could understand one another, and at that time priests and monks were almost the only people who could read and write. For long ages Great Britain kept in touch with European thought through the Church of Rome.

A growing need to combine for self-defence was another and a most powerful influence in blending the Anglo-Saxons into one people. For many years bands of sea-rovers, known as Vikings, had come from Norway and Denmark to raid the British coasts, just as Angles and Saxons had done in older days. These Northmen, or Danes, were also of a race, and spoke a tongue, closely allied to the English, but they were still heathen. From the middle of the ninth century they began to fight in organized armies on land, instead of merely pillaging the coast and sailing away. They landed in East Anglia, gained victory after victory over the English of Northumbria and Mercia, and arranged terms of peace, which were constantly broken. They invaded Wessex on all sides year after year, and were only permanently driven north of the Thames by Alfred the Great, king of Wessex (871-901). He built a fleet of ships bigger than those of the Northmen, divided the "fyrd," or county militia, into two parts, each to take its turn of active service and home defence, and fortified towns, manned with defenders from these same shire levies (see p. 19). Alfred concluded the Peace of Wedmore with Guthrum, the Danish war-leader, who became a Christian. It was finally agreed to leave the Danes in undisturbed possession of the part of England

lying north-east of a line drawn from Chester to London, and that this Danelagh should acknowledge the overlordship of Alfred. The war for national existence, temporarily ended by these agreements, had united the Anglo-Saxons as they had never been united before, and made Alfred king of the whole English people south and west of the Danelagh.

The Danelagh was too large for the Danish settlers to hold against the English. During the next hundred years Alfred's successors reconquered it, and the Danish population began to amalgamate

with the English in language and religion.

During this period the wild Picts of the northern highlands had united with the Scottish settlers from Ireland under one king (836). The British princes of Cumbria, or, as the Scots called it, Strathclyde, had ruled since 945 as vassals of the kings of the Scots. The West Welsh of Cornwall had been finally conquered by Alfred's son, King Athelstan. Edgar the Peaceable, who became king of England in 959, tried to do away with all lingering differences between Danes and English living in the Danelagh; and the king of the Scots and the princes of the Welsh paid him homage as overking of the whole island of Great Britain.

This unity was only temporary. Within fifty years a fresh tide of Danish invasion had set in. A great race of kings had arisen in Denmark, who had recently embraced Christianity, and who were creating an empire of the North. After many years of strife, King Sweyn overcame the English, and his son, Canute the Great, reigned over Great Britain, Norway, and Denmark (1016-1035). He

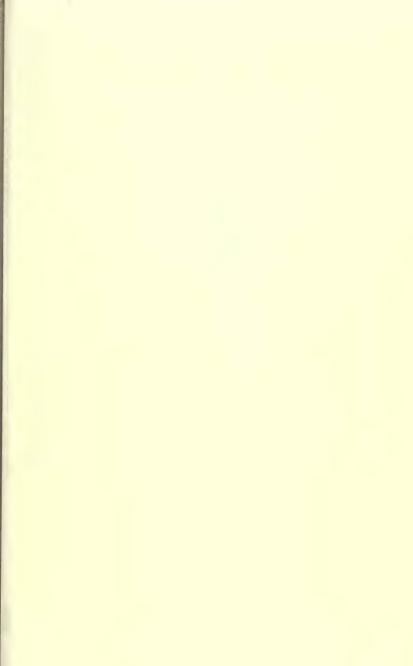
#### 14 CONQUESTS AND BLENDING OF RACES

granted the old Anglian province of Lothian to the king of the Scots to hold as his vassal. The Scottish king removed his capital from the Highlands to the English fortress of Edinburgh, and the language and customs of his new English subjects spread amongst the southern Scots. On Canute's death his empire fell to pieces, and after a time the English Witan (see p. 19) elected Edward the Confessor, of the English royal house, to be king of England. In the days of Harold, his successor, took place the next and the last foreign conquest of Britain.

Once more the invaders were of kindred race—the Normans, descendants of Northmen who more than a century earlier had settled in France. They defeated and slew King Harold at the Battle of Hastings (1066), and Duke William, their leader, hurried to London to cause himself to be elected king of England by the Witan.

So the bright armour of the Norman knights gleamed in forest, field and fen, where the White Horse of the English had so long contended with the Raven standard of the Dane, since the Roman Eagle had been borne back to Italy and the British Dragon driven westward. After a thousand years of invasion the island's mingled races were left to blend together into one people during a thousand years of immunity from the inroad of a foreign foe.







HARLECH CASTLE, WALES.

#### CHAPTER III

#### THE GROWTH OF NATIONALITY

# I. (1066-1215).

William's claim to the throne—Feudalism in Europe and in England—The manor—Domesday Survey—Methods of keeping the Barons in check—Anglo-Saxon institutions—The Justiciar—William's successors—Travelling justices—Military service—Scutage—Richard and the navy—John and the Great Charter—English and Norman—The English language.

WILLIAM, Duke of Normandy, had claimed the crown of England on frivolous pretexts, but he won it by generalship, and held it by a just though merciless rule. After he had beaten down all resistance, and confiscated or laid waste the lands of those who fought against him, he set himself to become king of the English people rather than merely their conqueror. To do this he had to keep his followers in check—no easy task when every noble had his own following of armed warriors and expected to have his own castle—almost impregnable before artillery was invented.

In those days the people of Western Europe lived mostly by tilling the soil; so that each man's place in society largely depended on the land he held and the conditions under which he held it. There were very few towns of any size. As there was no regular police or army to protect life and property, each man depended for safety upon the

16

help of those among whom he dwelt. The great warriors and lords got the lion's share from the land, but in return each lord gave protection to the people who held land under him and did the work by which all lived. All land was held on condition of giving some service in return. The great lords held their land of the king, on condition of bringing their knights to fight for him and of paying him certain dues and fines. The smaller lords held their estates from the great lords on the same conditions. The working villagers, the villeins or serfs, held their land on condition of cultivating the lord's own particular share of the estate for his benefit, and besides owed him various services and payments, generally in kind, as very little money was coined. These arrangements are known as feudalism.

In England there were many small landholders, most of whom in days of disorder had commended themselves to the protection of the bigger men by giving them their estates, and becoming free tenants with certain services to perform. There is a law of Edgar bidding all men below the rank of thegn "find themselves a lord, who should be responsible for them." In the eleventh century southern Britain was all divided into estates or manors, as the Normans called them, where all the land was held on conditions of service to the lord. The latter held a court at which his tenants attended to arrange the business of the manor, to impose fines for failure in service, and in manors where the lord had special powers of jurisdiction, to punish criminal offences.

William had the land of the whole country surveyed, and a description of it exists to this day in his Domesday Book (1085). It is interesting to see that in the old Anglian states of the Danelagh there were the most tenants with special freehold rights, and in the west, where English and Briton had fought so long, there were still many slaves. It was a century later before slavery disappeared in England.

The feudal system of land tenure was tightened in England by the Normans, and made sterner and more definite, both as regards the position of the agricultural tenants in manors and the barons, knights, and others who held estates on condition

of military service.

William himself, as Duke of Normandy, owed homage and obedience to his feudal lord, the king of France. But in reality he was as independent as any king; so, indeed, was every great baron in that country. French feudalism bound every tenant who held land from a lord to follow that lord to battle. If his lord broke his oath of fealty, and fought against the king, the tenant had to fight against the king under him. William had no wish that his barons in Britain should become thus independent of him. He therefore made every landholder, whether he held his estates directly from the crown or not, swear allegiance and do him homage; so, if a great baron revolted, all the knights who held estates under him in England were bound by oath not to follow him to battle against the king, but rather to serve the king, if he called upon them. Moreover, William took care to break up the estates, which he gave to his followers from the confiscated land of those English who resisted him. Thus, no Norman baron held much land in one place, except on frontiers, which they had to

guard against invasion.

With the same end in view, William preserved and developed the old institutions of the English. An English king of old was assisted by his Witan -the Council of the Wise-who had elected him from the royal house. In every shire a moot (assembly or court) was held periodically, presided over by the alderman, the sheriff, and the bishop of the diocese. Thither came the freeholders of the shire, or county, and the bailiff and four men, with the parish priest, from every township in it. They met to discuss local affairs, to administer justice, and to settle upon the men, ships, and money to be contributed by their shire to the public service. There were anciently three necessities imposed upon every free English landholder: to help in keeping up local defences and bridges, and to serve in the fyrd (see p. 12) in time of danger. After the Danish invasions began, a landtax and the obligation to provide ships were added. The fyrd was led to battle in later Anglo-Saxon times by the sheriff, and a sum of money was granted by the shire to each man for his expenses. Shires were divided into "hundreds," each with its little assembly. The freemen of the hundred were mutually responsible for each other's good behaviour. A great many of the powers of the Hundred courts were gradually transferred to the courts of the manors

William encouraged and maintained these ancient rights and customs, and turned them to his own use. The Witan melted into his Great Council of the king's tenants-in-chief. The sheriff, now a royal official, represented him in every shiremoot, and announced his commands and his need for service and supplies. William endeavoured to confine the feudal courts held by the barons in their castles to dealing with the business of their estates, though to the clergy he gave law-courts of their own. He and his successors called out the fyrd, under the sheriffs of the counties, and thus commanded an army of foot-soldiers, drawn from the whole people, to help them in their wars and against rebellious barons.

Thus the king made himself the active head of the nation's administration, as well as its supreme feudal lord. As, however, he was continually out of England, William appointed a minister, the Justiciar, to represent him in conducting the public business of the whole nation, just as his sheriff represented him in each county. The Justiciar was sometimes a baron, sometimes a bishop, sometimes a lawyer, or one of the royal chaplains. As the national business increased, he was assisted by a staff of secretaries, judges, and other officials. This staff of officials under the Norman Justiciar is the germ of the whole administrative machinery of the British Constitution. In later times, as business grew and was better organized, the office of Justiciar faded out of use, and the heads of the different departments officered by his staff became the ministers of the king.

William's successors continued his centralizing policy in England. His son Henry I., and his great-grandson Henry II., organized the system of travelling justices—judges on circuit they are called at the present day. They were members of the Justiciar's staff, who came regularly from the king's courts at Westminster, to sit beside the sheriff at the county assembly and judge cases according to their interpretation of ancient English customs. The rules which they adopted became the common law of England. It has never been written out, except the decisions of judges about particular cases or the statements and additions made by old English kings, but it has continually been supplemented and modified by Acts of Parliament. In the days of Henry II, the beginnings of trial by jury appeared in the shire assembly.

Henry II. aimed at bringing the barons and the church under a system of national law, and his reign was spent in a struggle with both to that end. He reorganized the fyrd for the maintenance of order at home by the Assize of Arms, which bade every freeman provide himself with weapons and armour befitting his income. But as neither fyrd nor feudal vassals were willing to fight continuously in his French wars, he allowed the smaller knights to pay scutage—that is, shield money—instead of their military service. Also he made the church lands held by feudal tenure bear their fair share in contributing to the national revenue.

Henry's son, Richard the Lion-Hearted (1189-1199), spent most of his reign on Crusades, in company with other European princes. They were

trying to take from the Mohammedan Saracens the Holy Sepulchre where Christ was believed to have lain. Richard's Crusade was a national enterprise, and the English Crusaders were carried to the shores of Palestine in an English fleet, commanded by the king's officers. Ships were the form of feudal service due from various coast towns, and, as we have seen, they were furnished by the shires for national defence. For the Crusade, Normans and English both in shires and towns voluntarily clubbed together to send ships. London provided a large squadron. The other ships were probably the king's own vessels, with hired seamen, and also ships hired with their crews. These vessels seem to have been the nucleus from which developed the English permanent navy, manned by paid seamen. The doughty deeds of Richard and his men helped to unite Norman and Englishman in pride of king and country.

Richard's brother and successor, John, a king as wicked as he was foolish, extorted money by every sort of unjust exaction, and cruelly oppressed all classes. Moreover, he managed to lose Normandy (1206), and nearly the whole of his other French possessions, and actually did homage to the Pope for the kingdom of England, so that he was called John Lackland. The barons, headed by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, united with the citizens of London to exact from the tyrant an undertaking to respect their liberties. Every king at his coronation had issued a charter, in which he promised to do his duty and not to oppress the people. John was forced to reaffirm in the Great

Charter of 1215 the important rights of the barons, the church, and commoner folk. He swore not to claim more than the usual feudal aids without the consent of the Great Council summoned by writ, and not to imprison any man without fair trial. Moreover, the feudal lords on their side swore to respect the rights of their tenants. Magna Carta is still to be seen at the British Museum in London. It was a solemn engagement on behalf of king, barons, church, and people that each should respect the rights of the other, and the union of all classes to obtain it from the king proclaimed the fact that there was sufficient understanding of common interests within the kingdom of England to show the rise of a real national feeling. Indeed, Normans and English were rapidly blending into one people, and the loss of Normandy served to complete the process.

For some time, however, the language barrier did not altogether break down. Magna Carta, like Domesday Book and most other important records of those days, was written in Latin, the language of the church and of all educated persons throughout Western Europe. But the Norman barons and the king spoke French, and French for many years was the language of the court. The English language of to-day has grown out of the tongue of the Anglo-Saxons, with some Danish and British words and names and many words from Latin and French worked into it.

## II. (1215-1485).

National boundaries—Henry III. and Simon de Montfort—Edward I. and the Model Parliament—The Statute of Mortmain—The feudal barons—The Hundred Years' War—Changes in the manor—Craftgilds—Wool—The Black Death—Peasant revolt—Manors as sheep-runs—Henry IV. and the Lollards—Henry V. in France—Jeanne d'Arc—The Wars of the Roses—The Tudors.

It was during the period which we have just been considering, and early in that upon which we now enter, that the present boundaries of England and Scotland, and approximately those of Wales, were fixed. Norman barons had overrun South Wales. and, after many years of fighting, had intermarried with the native British chiefs, and established themselves as lords of the Welsh Marches, under the king of England. But the British princes still held North Wales, as unwilling and turbulent vassals of the crown, at bitter enmity with the Lord Marchers. Finally the reigning prince refused his homage and after a gallant resistance was conquered, and thus all Wales was annexed to the English crown in 1284. The king's eldest son still bears the title of Prince of Wales. He is also Duke of Cornwall —that is, of the West Welsh (see p. 13).

The present boundary of Scotland, from the Tweed to Solway Firth, was fixed in 1092, when the English king, after a war with his vassal the king of Scots, arranged that Cumbria, the south of the ancient British province of Strathclyde, should be part of England, and the old Anglian province of Lothian remain permanently part of Scotland (see p. 14).

Thus, in north Britain the mingled races of Celtic Picts, Scots and Britons and Teutonic English and Danes began to work out a national unity of their own. Later the feudal claims of the king of England were the cause of fierce wars (1296-1328), which ended in Scotland becoming for three hundred years an independent kingdom, at ceaseless enmity with England and generally in alliance with France.

The king of England was nominally lord of Ireland by grant of the Pope from Henry II.'s time, when that island had been invaded (II67) and an

English colony established.

John Lackland (see p. 21) had lost almost all the fiefs he held of the French king. His son, Henry III. (1216-1272), acquired by marriage a large piece of the south-west of France, and thus the old troublous feudal relations with its king began once more, and disquieted England for two centuries. But first came England's earliest naval victory over the French, when under Hubert de Burgh, afterwards Justiciar, the brave sailors of the Cinque Ports (see p. 6) conquered and captured a French fleet bringing an army of invasion (1217). It had been John's one real national service to increase the English fleet, so that it might be a match for any fleet in Europe.

Henry III., like his father, ruled so badly that he roused the barons, the clergy, and the people against him. All hated his exactions, his servile alliance with the Pope, and his crowds of foreign favourites, both lay and clerical. The opposition rose against him under his brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort, and took him prisoner in 1264. Thereupon Simon summoned knights from the shires and

burgesses from the towns to join in considering the future of the land. This was the first time that citizens' representatives sat with knights and barons in the Great Council. The towns were rapidly increasing in number, and their growing wealth was making them important. Many had received from their feudal lord, generally the king, charters of free tenancy and of self-taxation, confirming in some cases their ancient rights. Their trade was regulated and often controlled by a powerful guild of merchants in each town.

King Henry's son defeated Simon in 1265, and after his father's death in 1272 became King Edward I. He was an able man, who followed up the national policy of Henry II. He wanted to make himself a powerful sovereign, ruling according to law, over an organized nation. In his reign was born the English parliament, the assembly of the estates of the realm -i.e., the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons. Its parents were the Great Council and the assemblies of the shires (see p. 18). The new departure came about in this way: the king was continually at war with Wales or Scotland or France, and continually in want of more money. He could not, according to the charters he had confirmed, raise any but his feudal aids without the consent of the Great Council. When he got that, he had next to send round to the sheriffs or by special commissioners to all the different assemblies of the counties and of the towns and of the clergy, to arrange separately with each body how and when the taxes due from its members were to be paid. Edward frequently summoned some of them to send

representatives to the Great Council. Both burgesses and knights from the shires were summoned in 1275, and in 1295 he called a parliament which has been a model for its successors. The Lords, lay and clerical, were summoned personally by writ, as to the old Great Council, in virtue of the land they held. The lesser clergy were summoned through the bishops' writs to choose representatives, and writs were sent to the sheriffs to have two representatives elected in each shire court, and two were chosen for certain towns.

This parliament combined two great English traditions. The barons brought with them the ancient rights of the Witan and Great Council to advise the king in law-making and to authorize taxes. After 1205 a permanent right to be summoned to parliament grew up amongst the holders of baronies, where the previous holder had once been summoned and taken his seat. This is the beginning of hereditary peers of parliament. Their claim is founded on the royal summons, not on noble birth. The knights from the shires brought with them the long tradition of local self-government in a popular assembly, and, moreover, much practical experience of the election of representatives for special services, and of managing the judicial and financial business, the military work, and the police of the county. For a long time they represented every class of landholder below a baron, from the lord of the manor to his smallest free tenant, as well as the little townships. They were a compact body of gentlemen, with whose numbers neither king nor sheriff could find a pretext to interfere, as they might interfere with the number of Lords or burgesses summoned. So for a long while the county members formed the backbone of the Commons.

Thus arose the "Mother of Parliaments," between whom and the parliaments of other countries there was always a root difference. In England the children of barons ranked according to the land they held or gained; they were not necessarily nobles. It was only in the days of Edward I. that entailing estates upon eldest sons began. The vounger sons of lords have always been simple freemen, who, if they wish to enter parliament, must be elected members of the House of Commons. Further, through the knights of the shire, the landed gentry of the country united with the representatives of the trading classes to form the Lower House —a thing which happened nowhere else, and which gave the English third estate power to hold its own against king and nobles throughout English history.

At first the whole parliament sat together, and met wherever the king happened to be; but during the fourteenth century it separated into the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and the lesser clergy, though to this day their proctors are summoned in the writs to the Bishops, dropped out of the Commons altogether, and met only in their own Convocations. Bishops still retain seats in the House of Lords.

All through the Middle Ages the church was extremely important, not merely because of its religious influence, nor of its position as part of an organization stretching all over Europe, under the

control of the Pope. For the clergy, being the educated class, supplied the nation with many able statesmen and lawyers, ministers and officers of the king; and in addition, they were great landholders.

Ever since the English had been converted to Christianity religious houses had sprung up, where single men or women went to live in a community, praving and working, and owning nothing. But though the monks and the nuns were poor, their monasteries and convents became very rich, being continually endowed with fresh estates by the pious. Abbots and bishops were lords of many manors, and amongst the greatest feudal vassals of the crown. In the reign of Edward I. the church owned about a fourth of the land of England. All this land, being held by undying corporations, never paid death duties, and constantly evaded other feudal dues. In 1279 Edward I.'s Great Council passed the Statute of Mortmain, which prevented any more estates being given to the church. From this time forward few great monasteries were founded.

The feudal barons were still extremely powerful; under their guidance parliament deposed Edward II. for incompetence. That feeble king's one renown is that he claimed the lordship of the English seas. His great father had organized the coastguard service, and appointed permanent officers of the fleet—the beginning of the English Admiralty.

Edward III., tired of the endless quarrels about fiefs with the French king, who as usual was allied with Scotland, laid claim to the throne of France, by right of his mother. In 1338 he began a war which lasted, off and on, for a hundred years.

During this war the English made their name as fighting men. The fleet, under the king in person (1340), won a brilliant victory over the French navy off Sluys (compare p. 24), a foretaste of many a national service and glory to come.

The army, to start with, consisted of 19,000 men. It was as a rule voluntary and well paid, its backbone consisting of the yeoman, the small farmer, the trader and the craftsman. Armed since Edward I.'s reign with the long-bow, which they were trained from their childhood to handle with loving care and deadly skill, they proved themselves able to withstand the charge of knights and men-at-arms, swathed in coats of mail, whether mounted or not upon their armoured horses. At Crécy and Poitiers it was the sturdy bowmen, skilfully combined with dismounted lance-bearing men-at-arms, who gave victory to the English, against vastly superior numbers.

These battles brought little but plunder and renown. The shadowy claim of the English kings to the throne of France did not command enough support from Frenchmen to be sustained by force of arms. When Edward III. died, in 1377, the only possessions of the English in France consisted of Calais, a fortified town of some value to the wool trade, and of a strip of land along the coast, south of Bordeaux; yet the war dragged on. The most momentous outcome of the prolonged national strain was that it established the importance of England in Europe, and increased her sense of unity.

Meanwhile fundamental changes had been taking place in the life of the nation. We have seen how in

Norman times the whole people was organized on a basis of land tenure (see p. 16). When a manor changed hands the tenants and their families went with the estate. They could not quit it without the lord's leave, which, as he lived by their service, he was none too ready to grant. For the same reason he had no wish to evict his tenants, and their holdings went down from father to child. In fact, if every man was tied to the land, the land was tied to him, and everyone had the use of it wherewith to gain a living, however much he might be under the rule of his lord. But population increased, towns grew, and with increasing trade and wealth men began in town and country to devote themselves to particular crafts. It gradually became more and more convenient to both landlords and their tenants for some of the latter to pay a money rent, instead of their personal service on the lord's farm. Thus by degrees many villeins became free tenants. Some got leave to part with their holdings, and went into the towns, where they became craftsmen, and formed powerful guilds for mutual protection in their trade; or they entered the church, or hired themselves out as soldiers or sailors. Some simply ran away from the manor, and became freemen by dwelling in a town for a year and a day. Also the younger sons of knights and lords went into trade, whilst the rich burgher families bought estates, and became country gentlemen, or even great nobles. In fact, land was changing hands in other ways than by fighting, and a small landless population was springing up, earning its living otherwise than by agriculture.

Wool for many hundreds of years was the great source of England's wealth; hence the fact that the Lord Chancellor's seat in the House of Lords is to this day a woolsack. At first English wool was nearly all exported. Edward I. secured Antwerp as a centre for the English wool trade in Flanders, where for a long time the best woollen goods were manufactured for Britain; but Edward III. invited Flemish weavers to come and settle in England, and henceforth she became a cloth-manufacturing, as well as a wool-growing, country. As the wool trade increased, the lords of manors gradually began to give up most of their domain to sheep-pastures, and as much of the rest of the manor estate as they could add to it. For the care of sheep few men were needed, so the lords became more and more ready to free their tenants and to allow tenants' sons and daughters to leave the manor. With the money paid in rent the lord could hire all the labour he required—generally that of his poorest cottager tenants, who had tiny holdings, and therefore were glad to work for wages the rest of the week after their three days of personal service.

In Edward III.'s reign, when national prosperity was at its height, the whole country was suddenly laid waste by the "Black Death." This was a fearful plague, which swept like a devouring flame through Europe, and is said to have destroyed half the English people, in 1349. Certainly for two years it brought business to a standstill. Labourers became very scarce, and they wandered about the country in bands, asking high wages. In 1351 parliament, which consisted largely of landowners,

passed the Statute of Labourers, the first of a series of such Acts, fixing wages at the old customary rate, empowering the newly-appointed Justices of Labour to enforce it and punish those who gave higher wages. These Acts forbade wandering and the refusal to take any work offered, on pain of branding or the stocks.

The villeins and free labourers became extremely miserable and extremely angry. Moreover the disbanded soldiers came back from France, uprooted and demoralized by the war. To add to the growing social discontent a movement was going on for the purification of the church, led by Wycliffe, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and later parish priest of Lutterworth. Some of his followers even ventured to preach the primitive Christian doctrine of human fellowship. When, in 1381, parliament granted an almost universal tax per head, which brought home to everyone, even the poorest, the extravagance of the government, the peasants and artisans burst into rebellion.

The revolt was crushed, and later the religious reformers were burnt or harried out of existence (see p. 33); but the break-up of the old state of society still continued. As the wool trade grew, and the foreign trade of the Merchant Adventurers was more and more supplemented by the manufacture of woollen goods at home, still more lords of manors saw a tempting profit in turning their estates into sheep-runs. They began to evict wholesale poor tenants, who only held their land by ancient custom, and had neither means nor knowledge to seek the doubtful help of the law. Whole

villages were destroyed. "Men are devoured by sheep," wrote the great Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, over a century later, when the evictions were at their height. Truly the beginning of England's commercial greatness, and the freedom of her sons from the bonds of feudal service, were dearly bought by the loss by so many Englishmen of their share in the soil of their native land.

The peasants' revolt was only one indication of the troublous state of English affairs after the death of Edward III. His grandson, Richard II., succeeded him, only to be deposed by parliament, under the influence of barons, who backed a rival claimant, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, another grandson of Edward III. He was recognized by parliament as King Henry IV. in 1399, and, reigning thus by a parliamentary title, was very careful to consult the estates of the realm in all his proceedings. To please the ruling clergy, he consented to a statute permitting the burning of the Lollards, as Wycliffe's followers were called. After a reign of strife he was succeeded in 1413 by his son, Henry V. To divert the mind of the nation, and make his throne more secure by his personal glory, he woke up the sleeping claim to the crown of France. He mesmerized England with a startling victory at Agincourt in 1415, and married the daughter of the conquered French king; but in 1422 he died, and his baby son became Henry VI. During his long minority distracted and desolated France at last arose, and rid herself once and for all of the English occupation. Her armies were led on to victory by Jeanne d'Arc, the village maiden who held herself divinely inspired to save her country. The end of the Hundred Years' War left England with no possessions in France but Calais (1453).

Now that the warlike barons and their followers had no longer any occupation abroad, they took to tearing one another to pieces in England over the rival claims of the descendants of Edward III. The partisans of the Red Rose of Lancaster fought with the partisans of the White Rose of York, until the old feudal nobility had almost destroyed itself in these Wars of the Roses. In 1461 the Duke of York became king as Edward IV., and afterwards his evil brother as Richard III.; but there was no final peace until Richard was conquered and slain by Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, in 1485. Henry VII. was a strong man, uniting many claims besides that of conquest. His father was Welsh, and claimed descent from the ancient British princes of Wales; his mother and his wife were daughters of the English royal house, the representatives of the rival lines of Lancaster and York. Under the Tudors England and Wales became more closely united than ever southern Britain had been before.

### III. (1485–1603).

Henry VII.'s power—Nationality and individual freedom
—Position of parliament—Henry VIII. and the
dissolution of monasteries—The Renaissance and the
Reformation—The Church of England—Mary and
Spain—Elizabeth and her national policy—The English
sea-dogs—Defeat of the Armada—Warfare in Ireland
—Prosperity in England—The Poor Laws.

Henry VII. had for a time to hold his place by force of arms; but he won through by energy and

prudence and his train of artillery. He made himself the strongest and richest king that England had known for generations. Nobles were forbidden by parliament to keep more than a limited number of liveried retainers, and this put an end to the warlike activities of the few barons who still remained. To hold them in check Henry developed the Star Chamber, a Committee of the Council, which he managed to endow with a good deal of power, very useful to him and his successors in maintaining despotic authority. He pleased the merchants by the Great Intercourse, a free-trade treaty with Flanders. He made his position strong by marrying his daughter to the king of Scotland, and his son to the daughter of the king of Spain. Ireland had supported a pretender against Henry, and so he made the most powerful Irish baron his Lord-Deputy there, and caused "Poynings' Act" to be passed by the Irish parliament in 1495. provided that all laws brought before that parliament must first have received the consent of the king and his English Privy Council (see p. 73).

On March 5, 1496, "the birthday of the British Empire," Henry gave a charter to John Cabot and his three sons, seamen adventurers of Bristol, who were just starting on their voyage to the New World discovered by Columbus four years before. He authorized them to hoist the English flag on the lands they might discover, and acquire them for the

English crown (see p. 131).

In 1509 Henry VII.'s son, Henry VIII., succeeded to a secure sovereignty over a united nation. It was the age of nationality. For some time feudalism had

been dying out; nations had been forming themselves out of the separate territories loosely held together under feudal kings and lords all over Europe, with the Pope and the Emperor nominally at their head. Now that her kings were rid of fiefs across the Channel, England too was quite ready to become completely national.

Side by side with this movement to form distinct, self-contained nations, a feeling was growing up that each man ought to be responsible for his own thoughts and actions, and that men ought not to be tied together in such ways as to hinder this freedom.

Thus, a movement towards nationality and a movement towards individual freedom were acting together to change old institutions. Both helped to weaken the local corporate life ruled by usage and custom, so that bodies like the assembly of the shire, and the corporations and trade guilds of the towns, gradually lost much of their public spirit, with much of their business, as the regulations and officials of the central government took over or interfered with their activities. Thus the many duties once left to the shire court passed to justices of the peace nominated by the king, and regulations for various trades, once left to each town or guild to manage for itself, were laid down by parliament.

During the troublous period of ceaseless wars which lay behind the Tudors, parliament had slowly become the centre of the political life of the nation. The barons had used its machinery to depose two kings (pp. 28, 33) and bring in a Bill of Attainder against a third (1461), and every king had obtained

the recognition of parliament as the sanction of his kingship. Edward II. and Richard II., the only kings who had ventured to base their rights simply on inheritance, were both deposed for inefficiency. Parliament also criticized, and even impeached, the king's ministers. Further, the House of Commons had made itself the most important of the estates of the realm. It had been the stable element in parliament, and its alliance was sought by each turbulent party amongst the lords in turn, so that its power grew. Moreover, the barons might have feudal rights, but the Commons had the moneybags. To meet the ceaseless drain of the French wars, the king must always be on good terms with the great merchants and the landed interest. Consequently, during the two centuries following the Model Parliament, the Commons had gained the right to be consulted about other national affairs besides raising taxes. They had begun to take part in legislation by making money Bills conditional on the removal of grievances, to confer freely with the House of Lords, and not merely to authorize taxes, but to decide how the money should be spent.

Having accomplished so much, the Mother of Parliaments remained for some time contented with her laurels. Parliament made little progress during the Wars of the Roses, and it left leadership to the Tudors. The old barons were gone; the new lords were courtiers; the Commons were resting on their oars, for they represented the middle classes, who were, on the whole, very well content. But there had been a widening gulf between the middle and the working classes ever since the troubles of the four-

teenth century (p. 32). In Henry VI.'s time parliament limited the county electors to owners of freeholds worth 40s. a year (1430), also the right to become county members to gentlemen of knightly qualifications (1445). In many towns the franchise was limited to the governing body. Thus, the House of Commons left the majority of the people virtually unrepresented; the working classes had no way of making known their griefs or seeking a remedy by constitutional means, and that at a time when, as we have seen (pp. 31-32), their interests were becoming widely separated from those of their masters and lords. They could do nothing when hard pressed but revolt, and then they were punished.

During the reign of Henry VIII. the evicted tenants of the manors (p. 33) lost the refuge they might find in the charity of the church, particularly of the great monasteries. We have seen how the church, and especially the monasteries, owned enormous estates (p. 28). They had built glorious churches and dwellings for themselves all over England, which in the past had been centres of learning and art and the schools of the people; they had been the best farmers of each age; also they had always helped the poor. Now they had fallen behind the times, and were not doing public work proportionate to the wealth they owned. They needed searching reforms to bring them up to date. But Henry, and the powerful section of the middle class who backed him in his attack upon them, wanted, not reform, but plunder. He and his great minister, Cardinal Wolsey, had tried the patience of the nation by exorbitant taxes, with and without the consent of parliament, and Henry, who was offended with Wolsey, threw him over to propitiate the people. Afterwards he found no difficulty in getting parliament to pass Acts of wholesale confiscation.

When the smaller monasteries were despoiled in 1536, the poor, led by the pious of the northern counties, revolted. But their "Pilgrimage of Grace" was subdued without a battle. The greater monasteries shared the fate of the smaller, and the king became master of the enormous wealth of all the religious corporations of the country. From this wealth the church benefited to the extent of six new bishoprics, and the Universities and grammar schools also received a small amount. But with most of it the king secured the support of men he thought useful to him by granting them the monastic lands. This change of lords was little to the advantage of the tenants, for the new men were almost all in search of their own profit, and at once set about enclosing and evicting. The fine abbey buildings mostly fell into ruins or were made into private houses.

Henry was able to carry through these violent measures because he had just become Supreme Head of the Church of England. He desired to divorce his Spanish wife, and as she was the aunt of the king of Spain, who was now also Emperor, the Pope had refused his consent. Henry defied him, married an English wife, and got his obedient parliament to pass the Act of Supremacy in 1534.

Thus the Church of England was separated from

the Roman communion after nine centuries of fellowship (p. II), and became a purely national church. It was a departure which has had its share in producing the self-reliant independence of spirit so characteristic of the British people and so large an element in their national strength.

That age was one of new departures. The general awakening throughout Western Europe, known as the Renaissance—the new birth of the human mind —was stimulating the life of England in a thousand In every nation and upon every subject men were thinking for themselves; everywhere they were launching out in new directions. They searched for the buried statues and the old, long-forgotten manuscripts of Greece and Rome, and studied their languages and their history. They wrote poems and plays; they painted pictures, and carved statues, and built palaces. They made discoveries in astronomy, in chemistry, in dynamics. They invented printing, and then old-world learning and new ideas spread like wildfire. They discovered the way to India round the Cape of Good Hope, and the New World across the Atlantic, and set forth upon a series of dangerous and splendid adventures. And, of course, they reconsidered their religious beliefs, and desired to purify and reform the church.

In every country there were people who thought that everyone ought to be able to read the Bible in his native tongue, and form his own opinion of its teaching. This was one of the first assertions of individual freedom and responsibility in thought. The Bible, as used in the Roman Catholic Church, was in Latin. Wycliffe (p. 32) had translated it

into English, so had William Tyndale; a German translation was made by Martin Luther, the great leader of the German Reformation; the New Testament was published in the original Greek by the learned Erasmus, who taught Greek at Cambridge. The Reformers in every country hotly attacked the abuses of the Roman Church and were violently opposed by it. Then they threw off their allegiance to the Pope, and presently all Europe was divided into Protestants and Romanists, fighting with words and with swords.

Protestantism was adopted by the English Government, under Henry VIII.'s son, Edward VI. (1547-1553). But soon he died, and Mary, the daughter of Henry's Spanish first wife, came to the throne. She married her second cousin, Philip of Spain, the mainstay of the Roman Catholic party in Europe, and set herself to reunite England to the Roman Church. Her aim and Philip's was to bring her kingdom into the European confederacy under Spain, and to crush out Protestantism. She put the cruel law which authorized the burning of heretics (see p. 33) to such lavish use that the nation was horrified, and welcomed with joy and relief her death and the accession of Elizabeth (1558), daughter of Henry's second marriage.

Elizabeth was a learned and enlightened woman, one of the ablest as well as the most popular of English sovereigns. She had her father's love of absolute power, but also his gift for selecting the men who could serve her best, and she surrounded herself with capable ministers. Under her rule of nearly half a century the nation prospered, until

it assumed that independent and leading position amongst European States which fitted it to become the centre of an empire.

The queen's policy was to establish firmly the national Church of England, and to secure the country against the Catholic Powers of the Continent, more especially Spain. With the latter end in view she took continual advantage of the rivalry between Spain and France to play off one against the other, with such success that Protestants looked to England as the strongest citadel of the reformed faith, while King Philip regarded her as the main obstacle to the reconquest of the whole continent for the Papacy. For more than twenty years Elizabeth pursued a diplomatic policy which sometimes seemed that of peace at any price; but during this time the land recovered from its griefs, while nations abroad were distracted with wars and dissensions. At length an English army was sent to help the Netherlands in their revolt against Spain, and a fleet to attack Spanish ports.

During the ceaseless wars of many centuries English sailors had developed such a habit of fighting that in early Tudor times they had a terrible reputation as pirates in the narrow seas. In the merchant service they were not so adventurous, only carrying goods as far as Spain, whilst other trading vessels sailed from the Mediterranean to English ports. Also it was from Spain and Portugal that the early voyages of adventure to South Africa and India and across the Atlantic were made. But as soon as news came of the discovery of America, sailors from England set forth for the New World (see p. 35).





SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

The Pope had given it to the Spanish and Portuguese, but after the Reformation that was no hindrance to English mariners—rather the contrary. In the reign of Good Queen Bess, Hawkins was trading in the West Indies, with cargoes of negro slaves for the Spanish plantations. In 1568 he was treacherously attacked, and from that time the English were at war with the Spaniards on the high seas, let the governments at home pretend to keep the peace if they would. Drake, and many another hardy seadog, fitted out ships and sailed away to the Golden West to trade if occasion offered, but always in the hope of lighting upon a treasure-ship of Spain, or sacking a Spanish settlement which was collecting the silver and gold of Peru. Drake went right round the world, the first Englishman to do so.

Thus, when the European war began the seamen of England and Spain were old enemies, and the English had been trained to fight in a rough school. The fleet under Drake sacked Vigo in 1585, and, crossing the Atlantic, captured the chief cities of the West Indies. Then King Philip determined to put forth all the resources of his empire to crush England, and in 1588 he fitted out a huge Armada of 129 ships, carrying an army of invasion. That army never landed. The Armada was broken up by the English fleet, under Lord Howard and Drake, and destroyed piecemeal in battle and by storms. The power of Spain received a blow from which it never recovered; and the way to the new continent now lay open before England, when she should be ready to set out upon a career of colonization.

The long struggle for national freedom and inde-

pendence had its dark side in the internal life of the nation, where continual plots and intrigues centred round the imprisoned Mary Queen of Scots, heiress to the English Crown (see pp. 46, 65). Elizabeth horrified Catholics at home and abroad by hanging over two hundred Jesuits and priests at various times as the agents of these plots; finally, she beheaded her cousin, the Scottish queen, in 1587. The great victory of the following year secured England national existence, but by no means brought her peace. She continued to send out naval expeditions against Spain, destroyed its main arsenal at Cadiz, and in the end made herself mistress of the sea. Philip, on his side, continued to scheme for the invasion of England by throwing troops into Ireland. It was a policy for years pursued by him and by the Pope, for there was continual war there between discontented Irish chiefs and greedy English settlers. But in Ireland too Elizabeth was at length victorious (see p. 74).

Meanwhile English merchants had been becoming more and more enterprising. They had begun to form companies for trade in the East as early as 1566, and their ships ventured to India and China, and even to Japan. All this traffic brought wealth and importance to the towns; slowly, very slowly, they began to magnify themselves at the expense of the countryside.

By now the condition of the countryfolk had decidedly improved. They were not being evicted nearly so fast or so indiscriminately by the lords of manors to make room for sheep. Leases had been made legally binding, so that farmers could get

some security of tenure, and the old villein service remained only as a dying custom in out of the way parts of the country. Elizabeth's government had been strong enough to give the working classes some little protection, which the best-intentioned early Tudor statesmen had failed to do, and it was now the law that every labourer's cottage must have with it four acres of land. Moreover, the woollen manufacture had so developed that spinning and weaving was giving home employment in cottage and farmhouse in a large part of England, and the whole family could earn something to keep the wolf from the door.

Moreover, the Poor Law of 1601, embodying much previous legislation, attempted to deal with the mass of uprooted, miserable people wandering for so long about the country. The older of the Tudor laws chiefly awarded ferocious punishments for wandering and not working. Elizabeth's great Acts retained punishments, but provided that every parish should be responsible for its poor, and should raise such funds as were required to give them employment and succour to the needy; also that boys and girls should be apprenticed by the parish. A later enactment (Charles II.) provided that every pauper should be cared for in the parish in which he was born, and sent thither if found destitute elsewhere. These Acts are in many ways a continuation of the old Statutes of Labourers (see p. 32). They are also the basis of our existing Poor Law administration (see pp. III, II2). Rates of wages were fixed by justices of the peace until the eighteenth century (see pp. 36, 81).

The court of the Virgin Queen was the centre of the

new intellectual life in England, as well as of national enterprise and adventure. Shakespeare, Greene, and Marlowe were among its dramatists, Spenser and the knightly Philip Sidney among its poets; thither came Bacon, father of modern science, and the graceful Sir Walter Raleigh, most courtly of gentlemen adventurers, and many another whose name is famous wherever the English tongue is spoken.

Elizabeth died in 1603, and was succeeded by James Stuart, king of Scotland, who came of the English royal house through his great-grandmother, Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. Thus the ancient unity of Great Britain, so loosely woven in old times and for three centuries utterly lost, was renewed by a king who reigned over the whole island and created a bond which has been permanent.

### CHAPTER IV

### THE EXPANSION OF GREAT BRITAIN

I. (1603-1714).

The Stuarts and foreign policy—First attempts at colonization—Great trading companies—Rivalry with Holland —Navigation Acts—Religion, politics, and colonization—The Civil War—Oliver Cromwell—The Restoration—William and Mary—Union with Scotland—The contest for supremacy with France in the Old and New Worlds—The Peace of Utrecht.

When the kings of Scotland became also kings of England, the two nations each retained its own parliament for another century. Therefore during

that time their internal affairs were separately administered, whilst their foreign affairs were managed in common.

The Stuart kings, however, had nothing which could be called a national British policy. One of the first things James did was to make peace with Spain; indeed, he sought but was denied her friendship. During the eighty-five years following his accession, the only time in which England took her old leading place amongst the Protestant Powers of Europe was the brief period of the Commonwealth (1649-1660), when Oliver Cromwell resumed the policy of Elizabeth, and Jamaica was won in the war with Spain. When the Stuarts were restored, Charles II. even entered into a secret treaty with the king of France, agreeing to help him to crush Protestant republican Holland, in return for French help in forcing Romanism and absolute rule upon Britain (Treaty of Dover, 1670). Yet it was during the disgraceful period of Stuart misrule, and partly in consequence of it, that the expansion of the British as a colonizing people began.

At the death of Elizabeth England did not possess a foot of ground beyond the seas, though once or twice adventurers had tried to start a plantation in the New World, particularly the half-brothers Humphry Gilbert and Walter Raleigh. England was still dreaming of the land of gold, whence the Spaniard had brought home treasure-ships laden with plunder from the conquered, ruined empires of Mexico and Peru. The first English colonists had no idea of the uphill work necessary during the early years of settling and farming in a new country, and

the settlers sent out were too often ne'er-do-weels and "sturdy beggars" not wanted at home. These efforts could not do otherwise than fail. In 1607 another attempt was made to plant Raleigh's "Virginia"; and this time, after the settlers had given up the vain hunt for gold and the promoters all hope of great profits, the colonists did manage to settle down to the cultivation of food-stuffs and tobacco, later on importing negro slaves to work for them.

Meanwhile the East India Company, whose charter was granted in 1600, and other societies of merchants had begun to develop a world trade on reasonable business lines, and to establish factories, as they called their trading settlements, in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. Then fierce rivalry arose between the trading companies of various nations, more especially England and Holland. The first war occurred when the Commonwealth Government (1651) passed a Navigation Act, requiring that all goods imported into England from Asia, Africa, or America should be brought direct in ships owned, manned, and commanded by Englishmen. The Dutch bitterly resented this blow to their carrying trade, and their navy won victories at first, which led their Admiral, Van Tromp, to sail the Channel with a broom at his masthead to show that he had swept the sea. But the English Admiral, Blake, convinced him of his error, and the Dutch agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of the British flag in British waters. The Navigation Act was passed again by the Convention Parliament (Charles II.) in 1660, with the additions that sugar, tobacco, and other enumerated articles should be exported by English colonies to England or English colonies only; also that the colonies' supplies must be obtained only from England. The second commercial war with Holland was by no means glorious; in fact, the Dutch Admiral, De Ruyter, blockaded London, and the sea-fights in the Channel were more heroic than decisive. But in the final treaty (Breda, 1667) the right of Britain to New York, as New Netherland had been renamed after its conquest in 1664, was recognized; while some years later, in 1682, Pennsylvania was founded by William Penn, the Quaker. These two new colonies were very useful as uniting the old colonies of Maryland and Virginia with New England, and the line of British settlements along the Atlantic seaboard was extended by the colonization of the two Carolinas.

New England had come into existence as a direct result of the misunderstandings of the Stuart kings and the English nation. James I. had been subject in Scotland to the powerful influence of the Presbyterian divines, who had kept him in a position of inferiority (see p. 66). When he came to the English throne, he embraced the English Church with joy, and showed more dislike of Presbyterians than of Roman Catholics. "No Bishop, no King," was his motto. He also developed the doctrine of the Divine hereditary right of kings, declaring that he was by birth God's Regent on earth, and that disobedience to him was a sin. These doctrines, so pleasing to a royal mind, were by no means grateful to the independent spirit of the Puritans, and they

began to get into trouble with the government. So in 1620 the Mayflower carried the nonconforming Pilgrim Fathers away to Cape Cod, where they founded New Plymouth. There they hoped to find freedom to worship God after their own fashion, and to compel others to worship in the same way. These men were not on the lookout for plunder and profit, or even for gold-mines; hence they proved far better colonists than the adventurers of earlier days. After the foundation of Massachusetts in 1630 their numbers were speedily re-enforced, and by 1640 there were 40,000 colonists in New England (see pp. 60, 132) driven from their native land by like causes, or by the spirit of enterprise.

Charles I. (1625-1649) clung to the beliefs of his father, and endeavoured to force his will upon the reluctant peoples of England and Scotland. He tried for eleven years to rule without parliament at all, raising money by all sorts of unconstitutional Meanwhile he made use of the Star devices. Chamber (see p. 35) and its adjunct the Court of High Commission to punish those who protested against his proceedings, or advocated radical church reform, or even refused conformity with the ritual of the Church of England. When he tried to force the English Prayer-Book upon Scotland an insurrection broke out, and Charles was at last obliged, by want of money, to summon parliament once more, for the county levies would not march at his orders against the Scots (1639).

Parliament, however, at once set about putting him back into the position of a constitutional sovereign. They also impeached his ministers,





OLIVER CROMWELL.

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.

Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford, and both were executed. Finally, they attempted to take from him the old royal right to call out the militia, and things came to the pass of civil war (1642).

The struggle ended with the defeat, trial, and execution of the king. Thereupon the Scots proclaimed his son King Charles II., while the English set up a republican Commonwealth (1649). During the strife the Long Parliament, which had never been dissolved since 1640, had melted to a handful of sitting members, the "Rump," and all real power had passed to their victorious general, Oliver Cromwell, and the splendid army he had trained and modelled. He defeated Charles II. and his Scots, and reduced Ireland to submission with cruel severity; then he was made Lord Protector in 1653, and summoned members from all three nations to the first United British Parliament. This union, and the internal peace preserved by his iron hand and lofty purpose, fell to pieces on his death in 1658. After an interval of confusion Charles II. was recalled from exile, and placed on the throne by the Convention Parliament in 1660.

Charles inherited the Stuart ideas, but was too much alarmed by his father's fate to venture upon defying parliament openly. The nation was suffering under a reaction from long strife, and the majority, who desired peace, were only anxious to guard themselves from extreme Puritans on the one side and Roman Catholics on the other. Hence some narrowly intolerant legislation, which forbade anyone to hold any sort of public office or be a teacher

unless he would swear that he believed the Thirtynine Articles, supposed to contain the faith of the Church of England as by law established. No other religious services but those of the Established Church might be held, and hence came a good deal of persecution in England, and still more in Scotland, where great numbers were Presbyterians.

In Charles II.'s days two big changes took place very quietly. All the feudal dues which remained to the king from the Middle Ages were abolished, and with them the last relics of the public service once universally demanded from the holders of land; instead, parliament gave the king the Excise and Custom duties. The other matter was the small beginning of a paid voluntary standing army, got together by Charles with a view to the schemes which he fortunately did not live to carry out. But the army has existed ever since. Also in this reign was passed the Habeas Corpus Act, which protects persons from being kept in prison without being tried.

James II., who succeeded his brother in 1685, only reigned three years. He openly tried to restore Romanism and absolute rule, and was driven from the throne after he had imprisoned seven bishops in the Tower for protesting against an illegal de-

claration.

He was succeeded (1688) by his Protestant daughter and her husband, William of Orange, the Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, who were invited by Parliament to assume the crown as Oueen Mary II. and King William III. Under William's able guidance, Great Britain again came forward as a leading European Power. Things had greatly changed since the days of Cromwell. Spain was weak, and her empire about to fall to pieces. The old trade rivalry between England and Holland had faded in face of the great common danger from the growing power of France. There was friction and rivalry between New France and New England in North America (see p. 134), but in Europe there was grave danger of the destruction of Holland and of the religious and political freedom for which Holland had stood since the days of Queen Elizabeth. England could not afford to have the Romanist despot Louis XIV. of France for sole neighbour across the Channel; so, under William, Great Britain entered upon the first of those tremendous struggles against the supremacy of France which were fought out in the Old World and the New during the next century and a quarter.

William and Mary were succeeded by Anne, younger daughter of James II. (1702-1714). In her reign the parliaments of England and Scotland were united (1707), so that the two countries became the United Kingdom, though each still retained its own system of law (see Chapter VI.). The other great event of Anne's reign was the second war with France, which had been planned by William just before his death. Under the Duke of Marlborough, the British troops covered themselves with glory in Europe; while a hot struggle was also going forward in America (see p. 134). By the Peace of Utrecht (1713) Great Britain secured Gibraltar and Minorca, in the Mediterranean; Newfoundland, the Hudson Bay Territories, and Acadia—a province including the present Nova Scotia and New Bruns-

## 54 THE EXPANSION OF GREAT BRITAIN

wick—in North America; and various commercial advantages, in which her ally Holland came off second best; amongst these was the exclusive right to the slave trade with Spanish America. Thus was taken the first step in securing a great colonial empire.

# II. (1714-1815).

The Protestant Succession—The Whig oligarchy—French wars and expanding empire—George III. and personal government—Pitt and the struggle with Napoleon.

The nation had some difficulty in finding a successor for Anne, because so many of the English royal house were Romanists. The Convention Parliament, which had bestowed the crown upon William and Mary, had required them, in the first place, to sign a Declaration of Right, which was afterwards made law. It declared the right of subjects to petition and to elect their representatives freely, and the right of parliament to be frequently summoned and freely debate. also declared that the king had no right to raise money or to keep up a standing army in time of peace without consent of parliament; and, further, that any member of the royal house professing Romanism, or even marrying a Romanist, forfeited all claim to the crown. On Anne's death the nearest Protestant scion of the English royal house was a grandson of James I.'s daughter Elizabeth, who had married a German prince. This Elector of Hanover was therefore accepted by parliament as King George I. of Great Britain and Ireland (1714-1727).

He was so much the son of his German father that he could not speak English, and, indeed, knew little and cared less about the country. As neither he nor his son, George II. (1727-1760), could follow the conversation of their ministers, they gave up presiding over the Cabinet, and no succeeding sovereign has resumed the old habit. Thus a distinct step was taken towards the independent responsibility of the ministry for the conduct of national affairs (see p. 98). Parliament had already declared, when they impeached Danby in 1678, that they considered a royal command no excuse for the evil-doing of a minister.

The real rulers of Great Britain during the first part of the eighteenth century were the Whig aristocracy. Since Charles II.'s time there had been a strong party amongst the nobility, whose watchword was the Protestant Succession. Their enemies called them Whigs, after a sect of Scottish Presbyterians, and they retorted by nicknaming their opponents Tories, namely, Irish bandits. Their ranks were swollen by some of William's Dutch followers and some of the greatest merchants, and they practically governed the country during the reigns of George I. and George II. The House of Commons was entirely in their hands, owing to the state of corruption into which it had fallen (see p. 93). tunately, they were men who loved their country, and in their high-handed way carried her successfully through a difficult period.

In the days of this Whig oligarchy two attempts were made, in 1715 and 1745, by the partisans of the exiled Stuarts to restore the Pretenders, the son

and grandson of James II., who had found refuge and support at the court of France (see p. 67). There were also two European wars, in which Great Britain took a victorious part in sustaining her imperial interests. The strong Whig minister Walpole kept the land at peace till 1730, when the merchants forced on a war with Spain for commercial motives. This merged into a great European struggle—the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). However, the end of the war brought little change in the position of the main combatants. Hostilities broke out again in America in 1755, and in Europe in Frederick the Great of Prussia was attacked by Austria and France, traditional enemies united by the hope of crushing an interloper. Great Britain came to his aid, and Frederick, with the aid of English gold, fought the armies of France and Austria in Europe, while Britain waged the struggle really important to her in India and America. Victory followed victory in rapid succession—so much so that it was said to be unsafe to miss a single mail if one wished to keep count of British successes. By the Peace of Paris, 1763, which concluded the Seven Years' War, the whole of Canada was definitely ceded to Great Britain, besides numerous West Indian islands, and India left to her care (see pp. 136, 256).

Meanwhile, considerable changes were taking place at home, where the old king had been succeeded by his grandson. George III. (1760-1820) was an Englishman by birth and education, and he had an ambition to free the crown from the domination of the Whigs. Presently he began to use their methods of bribery in the House of Commons,

and had his own party and policy there. It was George III.'s use of public funds which stimulated parliament to curtail the Civil List by degrees to a definite income for the king and his family, allowed them by parliament. All the rest of the national revenue, including, since 1830, that from crown lands, is now placed in the hands of ministers, to be expended by them under parliamentary control.

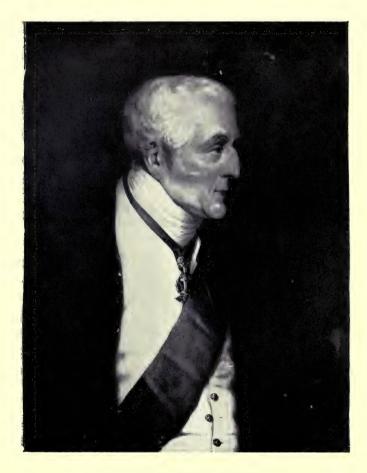
The first obstacle to George's ambition was removed by the resignation in 1761 of Pitt (Lord Chatham), who had guided the national policy in the Seven Years' War. The king then proceeded to select, during many years, ministers to his liking. His mind finally gave way, and during the closing years of his life his son acted as Regent. It was during the personal government of George III. that the one great disruption took place in the British Empire by the loss of the American colonies (see Chapter V.).

France had, of course, seized this opportunity to join in the war against Britain, and Spain and Holland had done likewise. The British defeat in North America was accompanied by losses and defeats in Europe and the East and West Indies (see p. 64), and by a movement in Ireland, which so much frightened the king and his advisers that Poynings' Act was repealed and legislative independence granted (see p. 75). Croakers foretold the downfall of the whole British Empire after the Peace of Versailles (1783), and, indeed, the situation had only been saved by two splendid naval victories—Lord Howe's off Gibraltar (p. 334) and Lord Rodney's in the West Indies—just at the end of the war.

Shortly afterwards the king's personal government concluded with the one useful thing accomplished by him. He at last gave his support to a really able minister, young William Pitt, the son of the great Chatham. Under Pitt, who held office for seventeen years, the country weathered the terrible storm looming before her, and regained and redoubled the prestige she had lost.

A mighty wave of revolution in thought and feeling, the outcome of the tremendous progressive forces let loose by the Renaissance, was now sweeping over Europe, and bringing the demand for individual freedom into politics. Everywhere was a growing sense of unrest and a craving for liberty. In France the revolution took a violent form, for there the remnants of medieval feudalism still pressed heavily, under superadded modern conditions which made the burden of the poor intolerable. The French Revolution (1789) terrified every ruler in Europe, and resulted in a crusade of republican France against the said rulers, banded together to suppress her. Her crusade shortly deteriorated into a war of universal aggression, under the marvellous generalship of Napoleon Bonaparte, who made himself emperor in 1804, and eventually master of almost every Western country except Great Britain. In this European cataclysm Great Britain firmly stood her ground. She fought Napoleon by sea, and supplied the funds to other countries to fight him by land. She beat him on the ocean, though he had requisitioned the fleets of Holland and Spain. The skill and heroism of Nelson saved her at Trafalgar (1805) from a threatened invasion. In revenge,





THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, K.G. From the portrait by Count D'Orsay in the National Portrait Gallery.

Napoleon endeavoured to starve British trade; Britain retaliated by driving his merchant ships off the seas. Meanwhile, other States had recovered themselves, and, with the aid of British gold, began to check his armies on land. British troops went to fight in Spain under Wellington, and in 1812 the French armies were foiled by Russia. The Great Powers revived and combined once more against the French Emperor. In 1815 the Emperor Napoleon was finally defeated at Waterloo by the British and Prussian troops, under Wellington and Blücher, and was exiled to the lonely island of St. Helena for the rest of his life.

This desperate struggle of more than twenty years, during which Great Britain had taken so splendid a part in the salvation of Europe, left her military position as one of the Great Powers established as never before, and her supremacy at sea undisputed. When, at the Congress of Vienna, the Powers met to apportion the spoils of the conflict, her share, in return for thousands of lives and millions of treasure, was an imperial one—Malta, the Ionian Isles, Mauritius, Ceylon, and the Cape.



NELSON'S FOUL-WEATHER HAT.

### CHAPTER V

#### THE ONE DISRUPTION

Early history of the revolting colonies—Causes of the quarrel—The beginnings of the conflict—Declaration of Independence—Interference by the French—Terms of peace—General effect of the loss of the colonies.

THE British colonies now comprised in the United States of America are the one great loss that the British Empire has sustained. After the Seven Years' War (1763), French rule had been expelled from the continent, while Spain was too weak to menace British dominion. Within twenty years of this triumph, the thirteen colonies had cast off the control of Britain and embarked on a new existence as the United States of America. Thirteen States. of various origin, whose people differed largely both in their manner of life and in religious opinions, but were bound together by their geographical position, found their grievances a sufficient bond of union against the Mother Country to enable them to embark with success in a long and hazardous rebellion. Such tenacity, such co-operatoin, must have had very real causes.

Most of the colonies south of the St. Lawrence were inhabited by men of particularly independent spirit. Their ancestors had been driven from England or other countries by religious intolerance or fiscal oppression. They had prospered in their new land, and found themselves hampered rather than aided by their connection with the home country,

which they remembered as the house of bondage. If Canada had not been held by the French, and if the Puritans of New England had not feared above all things the rule of a Papist king, they might have thrown off the British yoke far earlier. They wanted to rule themselves—at least, the more energetic among them did, the natural leaders, who felt a keen interest in their new land and its government.

At the same time Great Britain, after the strain of the Seven Years' War (see p. 56), was beginning to ask herself, "What use are these colonies? They practically govern themselves, and do very little towards the defence of the kingdom. If they do not help to provide an army or a navy, they can at least pay their share towards the support of these necessities." The system then in force of obtaining commercial profit from colonies was curious, and not over-burdensome. The colonies were obliged to send most of their raw materials to England, and to import only English manufactures (see p. 49). On the other hand, the West Indies had to buy all their lumber and provisions from the North American colonies, and England had to buy tobacco from Maryland or Virginia. Now the government began to talk of taxing the colonies. Thereupon "No taxation without representation" rapidly became a party cry in America. One section declared that no free person ought to be taxed at all unless he had some voice in the ordering of the taxes. The British replied that the late glorious war had been fought at the expense of the British taxpayer, that America was now free from all danger from

France, and that the time had come for paying the price.

The British Government took the first important step in 1764. A Stamp Act was proclaimed, requiring all agreements to be stamped, and thereby imposing a small tax. Riots resulted all over the colonies, and the obnoxious Act was repealed. But directly afterwards, in 1767, the British Government imposed a tax on tea, which aroused another storm of opposition. At Boston the king's revenue officers were attacked in 1773, and a cargo of tea was thrown into the harbour by a gang of rioters disguised as Indians. The government at home could not be expected to bear this insult quietly, while the colonials felt that the time had come for striking a real blow. British troops were attacked at Lexington (1775), and the War of American Independence had begun.

The war at first looked hopeless for the rebels. They had little money, their troops were undisciplined, the various colonies seemed unlikely to combine. Virginia, for instance, had nothing in common with Massachusetts except a common feeling of injuries received. On the other hand, Britain was divided at home by party strife. Some of the best men in Parliament were against the war, and spoke of the rebels as their friends, even of the soldiers under George Washington in arms against Britain, as "our army," and of the cause of the rebels as the "cause of liberty." There was a great shortage of British troops, and recruiting proved difficult. Of the 30,000 raised, over 20,000 consisted of men hired from Hanover, Hesse, and other German

States. The generals were curiously incompetent, though hardly as inefficient as the administrators at home

On July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was issued by the rebels. This document aroused enthusiasm in the States, but failed to interest the Canadians, who had been won over to accept British rule by the fair treatment the French colonists had received from the British government after the Seven Years' War (see p. 137). Burgoyne was ordered to march down from Canada by way of Lake Champlain, and to join Howe, the British commander, who was at this time in possession of New York. The results were disastrous. The junction was never made, and Burgoyne was forced to surrender at Saratoga.

This defeat had an extraordinary effect on the various enemies of Great Britain in Europe. The European Powers had long resented the "right of search" claimed by Britain, and her seizure of ships sailing under a neutral flag, if going to or from a country with which she happened to be at war. France now saw an excellent chance of humbling her old enemy. Spain hoped to win back Minorca and Gibraltar. Both of them declared war, and Holland joined in. France recognized the rebel colonies as the United States of America, and entered into a treaty with them. Two years later the French fleet appeared on the scene, bringing French troops to support the colonists. The war dragged on, but the Americans, merely by avoiding defeat, weakened the British forces, who were far from their base, and depended on the fleet more and more for supplies and reinforcements. A final disaster occurred in October, 1781, when the principal remaining British army was forced to surrender at Yorktown. Great Britain seemed to be defeated or in danger all over the world. There was revolt in India, Minorca had been taken, Gibraltar was in extremities, the British West Indies were melting away, Ireland was on the verge of insurrection. Only a real man could have stood against the wave of misfortune, and there was none such in King George's Cabinet. The independence of the United States was recognized in 1782, and the thirteen colonies had gone for ever.

At the moment Britain heaved a sigh of relief at being rid of these troublesome New Englanders, especially as peace was made with the European Powers on better terms than might have been expected but for recent naval victories over Spain and France (see p. 58). Public opinion seemed almost in favour of surrendering Canada, and abandoning the American continent altogether. But that would have involved too great a betrayal of those who had been faithful to England, and Canada was retained. Provision was afterwards made there for those pro-British inhabitants of the United States who preferred not to live under the new government, against which they had been fighting (see p. 135).

Nowadays we are beginning to realize that the separation of these colonies was inevitable under the circumstances of that age, and that good to both parties has arisen from the evil. But even so, the manner of the separation was deplorable. Still more deplorable was the bitter feeling left for so

many years between the two countries, which long hindered mutual recognition of their bonds of racial union and their common interests.

### CHAPTER VI

SCOTLAND, WALES, MAN, AND THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

Early history of Scotland—The Union—The Jacobite rebellions—Pacification of the Highlands—Politics and religion—General development—Early history of Wales—Religious revival—Education and the national life—Industrial activities—Man—The Channel Islands.

### (i.) Scotland.

From the days when Scotland achieved her independence, in 1328 (see p. 24), she remained a constant enemy of England and an equally constant ally of France. During the Hundred Years' War she had abundant opportunities for Border raids and even more serious invasions of England. Henry VII., the first of the Tudor kings, gave his daughter to James IV. of Scotland in marriage; but two great battles, Flodden and Pinkie, were fought between English and Scotch even after this attempt at alliance. So strong did the friendship with France remain, that Mary Queen of Scots, great-grand-daughter of Henry VII., was married in 1559 to the heir of the throne of France, and Scotland seemed likely to become part of the French dominions.

The Reformation made such union impossible. The Protestants revolted against it, under the influence of John Knox, and, assisted by England, drove out the French garrisons. The reformed religion was established, and the Roman Catholic Mary Stuart, on the death of her French husband, returned to reign in Scotland over zealous Presbyterians. She soon excited their anger, and, after a civil war, fled to England, where she was imprisoned by Queen Elizabeth. As next heir to the English throne, she became the centre of Popish and Spanish plots against her cousin, and was eventually executed in

1587 (see p. 44).

Mary's son, James VI. of Scotland, ascended the English throne in 1603, but Scotland retained her own parliament for another hundred years. In the days of Charles I. the Scotch rose in revolt at his attempt to impose the English Prayer-Book upon them, and forced him to yield the point. During the great rebellion the Presbyterian army of the League and Covenant joined the forces of the parliament, though the Highlands remained loyal to the king. After his death all Scotland declared for Charles II. (see pp. 51, 52), but Cromwell defeated their troops and governed the country as part of England. On the accession of Charles II., Scotland regained her parliament, but lost her religious freedom. The Presbyterian faith had remained that of most of the inhabitants in the South, and much cruel persecution ensued at the hands of the Stuart kings. Presbyterianism was acknowledged as the established religion of the country in 1690 under William III.

In 1707 the Act of Union was passed in both countries, and the Scottish parliament ceased to exist. Instead of it, forty-five members were sent





THE CASTLE AND PRINCES STREET GARDENS, EDINBURGH.

to the English House of Commons, and sixteen Scotch peers, elected by their fellow-peers, to the House of Lords. Thus England and Scotland became Great Britain. From this union begins the industrial and commercial expansion which has made Scotland one of the most prosperous countries of the world. Her merchants were permitted to trade with the colonies, whereby Glasgow has become one of the world's great ports. Goods could be freely exported into England, and there found a fair market. The country was prepared to take full advantage of these opportunities, for in 1696 it had been ordained that in every parish a schoolhouse should be erected. Thus, elementary education had been adopted universally in Scotland nearly two centuries before England saw the need for it.

In Scotland the union was not at once cordially received. The loss of independence, though it did not affect religious freedom, rankled in many minds, which could not forget that England was the traditional enemy. Moreover, there was a strong feeling in favour of the Stuarts, the ancient line of Scottish kings, now deposed from the British throne and in exile. Except the Campbells, led by their chief the Duke of Argyll, most of the Highland clans supported the "Pretenders" (see p. 56). Consequently, in 1715 and again in 1745 a large number of Highlanders, fine fighters after their own fashion, took up arms in favour of the exiled Stuarts. The Lowlands failed to support them. For commercial reasons they desired peace, and, moreover, being so largely of English race, they had a distrust of the Celtic Highland clans, due to the memory of old-time raids. After the first rising, in 1715, much was done to weaken the power of the clans by building roads, and thus opening up the country for the march of regular troops. After the second outbreak, in 1745, the insurgent chiefs were driven into banishment, and their estates confiscated. The Highlanders were disarmed, and the wearing of the Highland dress, the kilt, was forbidden. Shortly afterwards the Scottish law and police were extended to the Highlands, and the tribal land system of the clans was abolished. As once in England (see pp. 32, 33), sheep began to replace men on the land, and many Highlanders emigrated to America. Finally, during the Seven Years' War, Pitt raised Highland regiments for service in the English army. Thenceforth Scotland has had peace. Freed from the Border warfare with the English on the south and with the Highlanders on the north, the Lowlands embarked on a career of industrial prosperity, aided by the development of coal and iron mines.

From the Act of Union until the great Reform Bill of 1832 the Scottish voters formed a very small body. Fewer than 4,000 people had the right of voting for the forty-five Scottish members of parliament. As in England at the same period, these members were returned by bribery, and sold their votes in parliament to the highest bidder, though they still showed their patriotism if Scotland was directly concerned in any matter of state. As in England, agitation for reform sprang up in the days of the French Revolution, and lasted until 1832 (see p. 94).

Religious opinions in Scotland are, and have been,

very strong. The Established Presbyterian Church long suffered from internal dissensions, which have now been largely healed. Two main Presbyterian Churches now exist, besides a few devoted upholders of the strict doctrines of the old Covenanters, who fought and died for their faith in the seventeenth century.

In other respects, the history of Scotland has been closely bound up with that of England, though in many ways she has been in advance of her larger sister. Her system of education has maintained the lead it took in 1696 (see p. 67), and Scots have attained the highest offices in the state with remarkable frequency. A large proportion of the prominent politicians of the last fifty years have come from the north of the Tweed, while in invention and industry the Scots are to be found at the head of many important enterprises all over the world.

The English tongue has been that of the southern part of Scotland since the days of tribal colonization (see p. 14), but the Highlanders still speak their own Celtic language, though a large proportion of them also know English.

Scotland brought with her three groups of wild and rugged islands—the Hebrides and Orkneys, off her northern and north-western coasts, and the Shetlands, the farthest outpost of the British Archipelago in the North Sea.

# (ii.) Wales.

Northern Wales was the last portion of southwest Britain to hold out against English domination. It was conquered and annexed to the English crown by Edward I. in 1284 (see p. 23). He divided it into counties, and placed it under English law, except as regards land tenure. The ancient race hostility continued to break out in raids and insurrections until the Tudor sovereigns of Welsh descent came to the English throne. Henry VIII. in 1535 incorporated all Wales with England, abolishing the old feudal rights of the Lords Marchers, who had ruled large tracts of Wales as vassals of the crown since Norman times. South Wales also was now divided into counties, and the whole Principality represented in the English Parliament. The land tenure then was made the same as in England, but Wales did not come under the jurisdiction of the English courts until 1830.

A remarkable religious movement stirred the Welsh from a peaceful torpor early in the eighteenth century. They were a part of the Church of England, with four of its bishops to look after them; but in 1811 the Welsh Methodist Church broke away, and, with other more recent Nonconformist bodies, it now represents the main religious life of the people. Wales, like Scotland, was far ahead of England in the attainment of primary education. So early as 1761 she had as many as 218 elementary schools. There is now a flourishing University of Wales. The ancient Celtic tongue is still spoken by a few, but almost every Welshman now knows English, which is taught in all schools. Of late years a strong movement has sprung up to preserve the national life, with its language, literature, music, and history. South

Wales has so developed its natural resources of coal and iron that the district round Cardiff is one of the most important industrial centres of Great Britain.

# (iii.) Man and the Channel Islands.

The Isle of Man lies in the Irish Sea, equidistant from Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland. Each of these countries has in turn affected its fortunes. It was originally a Celtic kingdom, conquered and long held by the Northmen, and is interesting as still preserving some ancient Norse political institutions. It was seized by England in 1343, after it had become a Scottish possession. Henry IV. gave it to a faithful follower, in return for two falcons to be rendered at each coronation. The island passed from one great family to another, until the Duke of Athole sold it to the British crown in 1765. Man is now administered by a lieutenant-governor appointed by the king, assisted by an official Council and the House of Keys, which together comprise the ancient Norse Tynwald. The electors include both men and women. New laws are still proclaimed on the Tynwald Hill in English and in Manx, but only a few Manxmen still speak their old Celtic tongue.

The Channel Islands lie between England and France. They have belonged to the English crown ever since the days of William the Conqueror, being the only part of the Duchy of Normandy that John Lackland did not lose (see p. 21). The inhabitants still talk Norman-French, and cling to their own old-world traditions and customs, which show how a small community was governed in bygone

days. The lieutenant-general is appointed by the king.

Man and the Channel Islands have played little part in the history of the Empire. They were once smuggling centres of repute and are now famous as health and holiday resorts.

### CHAPTER VII

#### IRELAND

Early history—Orange and Green—The Union and its defects—Roman Catholic Emancipation—The land question—The Home Rule agitation.

THE beautiful green country of Ireland, the "Emerald Isle," was in the far past the home of a Celtic race akin to that of Britain. The Irish lived in tribes, like the Celtic peoples of the neighbouring island, and appear to have attained a certain amount of civilization. They were never conquered by the Romans, but they adopted Christianity in very early times, and their missionaries played a large part in converting the Pictish and English heathen of northern Britain (see p. 11).

When Ireland was conquered by Henry II., and an English settlement planted around Dublin Castle, the bishops of the Irish Church (Synod of Cashel, 1172) agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, as did those of England. But when England threw off the Papal supremacy in 1534 (see p. 39), Ireland did not. Only the English settlement





Pleoto, Spooner.

DUBLIN.

adopted the Anglican ritual, and acknowledged the king as head of the Church of Ireland. Elizabeth tried to force Protestantism upon the whole nation by putting Ireland under the English Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, but without success. The majority of the Irish people remained Roman Catholics. This fact helped to embitter and complicate the relations of the two islands throughout England's long struggle to assert and maintain her independence against the hostility of the Romanist Powers of Europe. England has always feared that Ireland would join her enemies, and be used by them as the basis of invasion. indeed, happened after the Wars of the Roses; during Elizabeth's reign; again when James II. tried, with French aid, to reconquer his lost kingdom, and was defeated by William of Orange at the Battle of the Boyne; and again during the wars with Napoleon, when the French fleet entered Bantry Bay.

It is little wonder that England has had continually to fear Ireland's hostility. England conquered and occupied Ireland with brutality, yet never with such thoroughgoing brutality as to bring matters to a definite conclusion. Henry II.'s Norman knights conquered about half the best lands in the country, built castles, and settled down amongst the native chiefs, intermarrying with them, and living much after their fashion, though they were always looked upon as interloping oppressors by the peasantry. Few English settlements were formed except within the Pale around Dublin. This Anglo-Irish colony lived under English law, and had

a parliament of its own, which was independent of England until the reign of Henry VII. (see p. 35).

Elizabeth determined to reduce Ireland to absolute submission. Various Acts of Parliament divided the island into provinces and shires, to be ruled by English officials. The native chiefs and tribesmen violently resented this destruction of their ancient tribal organization and customary rules, and appealed to Spain for aid. This resulted in war of the most barbarous sort which lasted for many years, till finally the English destroyed their most enterprising enemies, and confiscated the lands of all the chiefs of the north. James I. in 1610 established a "plantation of Ulster" on these lands, with sturdy Presbyterians from London and Scotland. showed themselves to be the stuff of which useful colonists are made, for they settled down to farm the land, and dug themselves into it so successfully that they have made Ulster prosperous ever since. But this alien colony only added to the race hatred which the native Irish felt for their British conquerors.

Charles I.'s minister, Strafford, practised his policy of "thorough" by a merciless despotism in Ireland. Therefore, when the Civil War broke out in Britain, the Irish rose against the English in Ireland, and in the hated colony of Ulster slaughtered every man or woman they could find unprotected. A Scottish army drove them from the colony, but the Irish Roman Catholics espoused King Charles's cause, and carried on the Civil War until Oliver Cromwell reconquered the whole country, and put the garrisons of Wexford and Drogheda to

the sword. He endeavoured to drive all the native Irish into the wild western district, and plant stern Puritan settlers from England and Scotland in the east and south, but his scheme was a very partial success, though Irish members, representing the Protestant colonists, were summoned to sit at Westminster in the English parliament, and the land was ruled from England till the Commonwealth came to an end (see p. 51).

After the Civil War between the Irish Romanists, who sided with James II., and the Protestants, who supported William III.—the "Green" party and the "Orange"-Ireland was for the next hundred years treated by Britain as a conquered country. The Roman Catholics, who were a large majority of the nation, were forbidden by a penal code to sit in the Irish parliament, or (till 1793) even to vote for its members. They were excluded from many of the professions, and were forbidden to intermarry with Protestants; and a Protestant son was given the right to all his father's property, excluding his Romanist brothers and sisters. The interests of Irish trade were sacrificed to meet the wishes of English merchants; in fact everything possible was done to ruin Ireland, and the effort was terribly successful.

Nevertheless, the spirit of the Irish people was not killed, and the favoured Anglo-Irish minority developed some national spirit of their own. Their parliament claimed commercial equality, and got it during the revolt of the American colonies (see Chapter V.). It also demanded independence, and the English government was too much alarmed by

events in America not to grant the claim. But this so-called Irish parliament was only a shadow of a national representative assembly. Three-quarters of the members of the Irish House of Commons were nominated by a hundred Anglo-Irish landlords, and the country was administered by English ministers in accordance with English ideas. Finally the Irish parliament passed an Act for its own abolition, at the bidding of Pitt, the great English minister.

The Act of Union, passed by the British parliament in 1800, allotted one hundred seats in the British House of Commons and thirty-two in the House of Lords to Irish representatives. Both in Ulster and elsewhere, Ireland had been affected by the success of the French Revolution to a far greater degree than England; the Catholic peasantry in the South had actually taken up arms, and looked for aid from France. Pitt saw the need for union. and hoped to win the affections of the Irish by the abolition of the laws against Roman Catholics, which constituted Ireland's chief grievance; but he abandoned this project at the king's request, and the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" remained an empty name, as regards the growth of any true national feeling. The history of Ireland since the union has been the history of politicians and agitators striving to achieve the freedom they think is their right, and the efforts of English statesmen to crush or conciliate these agitators.

The Penal Code against Romanists was repealed in 1829, and religious belief no longer barred the representation of Catholics by Catholics. But the Protestant Church of Ireland, established on the English model, with the king as its temporal head, still received tithes all over Ireland, though the majority of the payers were Roman Catholics, and amongst the Protestants many were Presbyterians. The peasants resented this charge to support a religion which they hated, especially the farming out of tithes, and they took violent steps to show their feelings. Tithe-collectors and clergymen were assaulted and murdered; tithes were refused, and the clergy were unable to support themselves without government aid. Various Acts were passed to remove this grievance in part. Finally, in 1869, Gladstone disestablished the Church of Ireland, applying its surplus revenues to other purposes.

The land question is even now unsolved. A great part of the soil of Ireland is owned by British landlords, the heirs and successors of those who were granted the land as the result of the successive reconquests of the country. This land was taken in the first place from chiefs who did not own the land absolutely, but held it as the representative of the tribe. The peasant never forgot his ancient claim, and felt that the English landlord, often an absentee who never set his foot in the country, had no right to claim the highest rent that he could extort from the holder. When the landlords began to turn the small farms into large pastures, to pull down the houses which were in the way, and to leave the former tenants homeless, the small farmers and peasants agitated by every possible means to secure the only living they knew of for themselves and their families. The effect on the population of Ireland has been disastrous. Since

1841 it has decreased from six and a half to four and a half millions, and is thus now less than that of London. Successive governments at length found it necessary to interfere between landlord and tenant by other means than rigorous police measures, but without success until the Land Act of 1903, which seems likely to satisfy both parties. Briefly, the hope is to buy out the landlords at a fair price with the money of the state, and to allow the new owners to pay back the price to the government by annual instalments. Thus the landlords will get their money, and the peasant small-holder will lose the sense of fear and wrong which paralyzed his activity. He will put more keenness into the cultivation of the soil, when he feels that all improvements will be for his own benefit, that he cannot be evicted, and that he owns a piece of land himself.

The greatest problem is that known as "Home Rule for Ireland." Ever since the union many Irish have been looking forward to another Irish parliament, with power to make laws for Ireland in accordance with Irish wishes. On the other hand, Protestant Ulstermen have always vehemently protested against the scheme, declaring that "Home Rule means Rome Rule," and that they, the most prosperous and contented portion of the community, would be under the heel of their enemies, the Irish Roman Catholics. English statesmen have taken both sides, though unanimous in agreeing that the complete independence of Ireland would be too great a danger to Great Britain to be considered for a moment while there exists the chance of war in Europe. The existence of selfgoverning colonies who have remained perfectly loyal, and the representations received from some of these colonies, may have weakened the objection to some form of Home Rule, which shall leave Ireland still an integral portion of the Empire; but a large number of politicians in England still dislike the idea. The agitation has been carried on by every possible method, from dynamite bombs to alliance with the English political parties. To this day Ireland sends to the British parliament over eighty members who have only one aim—to further in their every act the management by Ireland of her own affairs.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The transformation of Great Britain—Enclosures and the exodus from the land—The domestic system of industry—Invention of machinery—The factory system—Cotton—Wool—Coal and iron—Transport—Workmen and employers—State intervention—Industrialism and Empire.

WE have now considered the outlines of the history of the British Isles, but we have not attempted to explain the enormous transformation which has come over these islands since the days of Queen Anne—a change summed up in the words, "England is now an industrial rather than an agricultural country." The period at which the transformation set in was the latter half of the eighteenth century, the period of great wars, of the loss of the American colonies,

and of the expansion of the Empire in other portions of the globe. But the changes in the life and livelihood of the workers were of such importance that the period is called that of the "Industrial Revolution."

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the population of England and Wales was probably under 6,000,000, of whom about one-half lived in the south and east of England. The main occupation of the whole people was still agriculture; trade, though increasing rapidly, did not afford employment for any great number of persons. Three-fifths of the nation lived in the country districts, producing for themselves what they needed, whenever possible, and depending but little on foreign imports.

English manufactures were still carried on by the domestic system—that is, in the house of the worker, and not in the factory or workshop of the employer (see p. 45). Woollen manufacture was still the greatest industry (see p. 31). In wide districts of the north, the west, and the east every village had its looms, every cottage its spinningwheel. The raw wool was given out to the different classes of workers by the clothiers, who paid for the finished work and collected it. The cloth was carried to the Cloth Hall of the neighbouring town, and thence to the great fairs, on pack-horses or in waggons, and sold to the traders for export, as well as home consumption. On the other hand, each weaver usually held some land, worked by himself and his family. One family would do more weaving than farming, another more farming than spinning.

The same applied largely to other crafts and trades. There had been little or no enclosing for sheep-runs in the days of the Stuarts; the vast majority of working people had settled down on the land with at least a small plot round their cottage (see p. 45). Many could turn out their cattle on the commons or waste land, and thus the cottagers and small farmers were able to pay their way. Most of these worked for wages as well, and the parish helped when they were in straits. All farming families, whether tenants or freeholders, worked with their own hands with the farm-servants, who lived in the house, and with hired labourers where needed.

In the eighteenth century a feeling sprang up, thanks largely to Dutch influence, that improvements ought to be made in the cultivation of the soil. To do this it was useful to enclose the lands, and to combine the scattered strips held by each tenant under one farmer, who could afford to purchase necessary agricultural machinery and to manure and plough the soil thoroughly. And as England then raised all her own food-supply, and even exported corn, cheese, and meat, much profit might be made from improved agriculture, which allowed of rents being raised.

Therefore the lords of manors again began to enclose their estates (see p. 32). They applied also for Acts of Parliament to enable them to enclose the commons, on which both they and the possessors of neighbouring holdings, whether tenants or small freeholders, had rights of pasturage, etc. The enclosures continued until little common land was left in England. The rich merchants and traders

were also buying up landed estates, and ousting, by one means or another, the small holders. the new owners of the monastic manors in Tudor times (see p. 39), they had small mercy on petty cultivators whose claims rested upon ancient custom; and the Act of Queen Elizabeth (p. 45), providing that every cottage should have its piece of land, was repealed. Thus large numbers of small cultivators lost access to the soil, and with it their main source of livelihood. The result of all this was that once again a very large class of landless people was created. Many drifted into the growing towns, where new occupations were springing up. A few, after the close of the Napoleonic wars, emigrated to colonies where there was room—and, indeed, urgent need—for the working farmer. Others, again, swelled the ranks of paupers. And so the majority of the people of England lost their connection with the land, and ceased to dwell in the country.

Meanwhile other great changes were taking place. Machinery was being invented by which first spinning and then weaving became a more and more complicated process, turning out vastly increased amounts in proportion to the human labour employed. The machinery, of course, could not be used in the cottages, nor could the small man afford to buy it. Capital was required to meet the expenses of starting these large enterprises, and the domestic system began to give place to the factory system.

These changes began in the working up of cotton, which since the middle of the seventeenth century had been imported into England, and was now taking the place of wool. The headquarters of the cotton industries were in Lancashire, near the great port of Liverpool, a district where the damp climate was suitable to the treatment of cotton. Wool became centralized in Yorkshire, where there was abundance of water-power to drive the machinery, and supplies of the raw material could easily be obtained from the Yorkshire wolds. The workers had to live near their work, and towns sprang up like mushrooms round the factories. The demand for machinery led in the same way to the growth of towns near the supplies of raw materials for its manufacture.

These materials were iron and coal - iron for smelting and coal for driving engines; for in the midst of these changes the steam-engine had been developed by James Watt (1782), and had begun to take the place of water-power. Thenceforth the position of the iron-mines and the coalfields determined the position of new towns. In Yorkshire and Durham, for instance, coal and iron lie together in the earth, waiting for man to make use of them, and the workers of England gathered round these treasures; thus the North of England also became thickly populated, as there sprung up a vast production of rails, machinery, ships, and other goods made from iron and steel. To transport the new products, new roads and canals were necessary, until the introduction of railways (1822) changed the whole system of transport. George Stephenson and his locomotive, "The Rocket," stand for the later stages of the Industrial Revolution—the cheaper and more rapid transit of men and goods. At the same time steamers began to be used at sea.

Great Britain was first in the field with these wealth-increasing inventions, and profited accordingly. She became the workshop of the world. Her commercial prosperity enabled her to bear the burden of the wars against Napoleon; but for her economic expansion she could never have stood the strain of those twenty years (see pp. 58, 59). Since those days her policy has largely been directed to opening up and securing fresh markets for her products.

Such tremendous changes modified the whole structure of society, and made the life of everybody different from that of his forefathers. Those who had money and brains to utilize the new opportunities took the lead, and became the employers of the working classes. The majority, instead of working directly for themselves, became the servants of the few, no longer owning their implements or having land which they could till to supplement their earnings. Magistrates had ceased to attempt to fix wages during the eighteenth century, and men were not allowed by law to combine in the effort to raise them. Therefore the employers paid as little as they could, and made their workpeople toil for as many hours at a stretch as possible. Women and children, who before had worked at home, followed their occupations into the factory, and earned tiny wages, without which, however, the family could not exist.

It was found impossible to let the masters manage their factories and mines in any way they liked; the humane part of the nation were horrified to find that the workers were treated worse than animals by their employers. By a series of Factory Acts beginning in 1802 the State has intervened; while the workers, after long and cruel struggles, have been allowed to form themselves into trades-unions, for purposes of mutual help and for bargaining with

their employers.

In 1910 Wages Boards were formed in England for certain specified trades, where the workers are too poor and helpless to combine efficiently, and a minimum wage is being fixed; employers are to be forbidden to give less or workers to receive less. The old relations between employer and employed were destroyed by the new conditions of factory production, and we are still trying to find more satisfactory methods, by which the administration of capital and the due reward of the workers who utilize and renew it can be so organized that the wealth of the nation may be fairly apportioned.

Since the Industrial Revolution, Great Britain has ceased to produce her own food-supply. She is dependent upon her manufactures and commerce to obtain from abroad the corn and other food-stuffs needful to nourish her teeming population. This renders her relations with her corn-producing colonies of essential importance, and causes her very existence to depend on her command of the sea.

# CHAPTER IX

## COMMERCIAL EXPANSION AND FOREIGN POLICY

England dependent on imports—Repeal of the Corn Laws
—Free Trade—Increase of wealth and population—
Industrial centres—Foreign and colonial trade—Imperial foreign policy—Need for a central authority—
Problems of the Far East—British diplomacy and the fleet.

THE Industrial Revolution made Great Britain a centre of commercial expansion, because it gave her so many things to sell, while at the same time it forced her to buy so much. When she sold the goods she made, she was rich enough to buy foreign products, as well as the raw materials necessary for more production. Gradually she ceased to make what she could obtain better or more cheaply from outside.

At the end of the eighteenth century, so far from exporting corn, as she had done earlier, England was importing it from northern Europe. Her population was growing quickly in the new manufacturing towns, where people were entirely dependent on bought provisions, and the price of corn rose enormously from this and other causes during the great wars with Napoleon. The manufacturers objected to a state of things which made higher wages necessary if their workmen were to live; on the other hand, the landlords brought more and more land into cultivation at a rising rent as the demand for wheat increased, and they

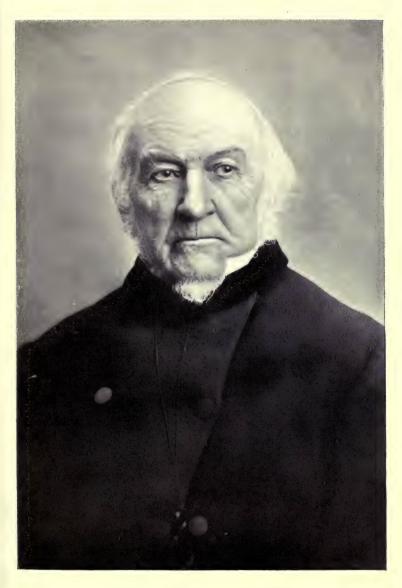
and the farmers found the high prices delightful. But when the extra corn-land had been brought into use, and the war was over, the price of wheat went down again; then the landlords and farmers demanded a duty on foreign and colonial corn, to keep up British prices, especially as the manufacturers were protected by a tariff on foreign goods. Efforts were made to satisfy both parties by a sliding scale of taxation. If the price of corn rose above a certain level, the import duty was correspondingly reduced—first on colonial and then on foreign wheat.

It had been the custom in England since the time of James I. to issue a Book of Rates, stating the duties to be paid upon imports. As need had arisen, a new duty had been imposed, without regard to what had been imposed before-so much so that the list of duties in 1825, when some had already been struck off, filled 152 pages of a large book. Much of this revenue was wasted in the expense of collection, and smuggling had become a lucrative and almost honourable business. In 1776 the policy of Protection had been attacked by Adam Smith in his famous book. "The Wealth of Nations." and his doctrines took hold of the leading minds of the new age. From the beginning of the nineteenth century the tariff was assailed on two grounds: first, that it was too cumbersome, and in the longrun benefited no one but the landlords; secondly, that freedom was more likely to stimulate trade than was Protection. The agitation grew so fast that Sir Robert Peel reduced the corn duties. The manufacturers used the alarm caused by the Chartist movement to put pressure on the government, being well aware that the discontent originated at least as much in lack of bread as in enthusiasm for political rights (see p. 94). Moreover, as the corn supply from the colonies increased, one great objection of the Protectionists—the danger of supplies being cut off by a foreign war—lost much of its force. Accordingly in 1846 the Corn Laws were repealed, leaving only a registration duty of 1s. a quarter on wheat, which was dropped twenty years later.

The general idea of leaving trade free to develop without government protection was carried further by the repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1849 (see p. 48). Free Trade became the main policy of the Liberal party, and was largely extended by their great finance minister, Gladstone, who gradually removed all duties on manufactured imports, except a few articles which could not be produced at home, such as tea and sugar, or which, when made at home, paid excise duty, such as beer.

This system of raising money for revenue purposes has been attended with an enormous increase in the overseas trade, the financial stability, and the wealth of Great Britain. Moreover, the consequent fall in the retail prices of certain necessaries, including bread, did something to relieve the distressed condition of working people in the middle of the nineteenth century (see p. 84).

One result of Great Britain's continual growth in wealth has been an enormous increase in population, which continued throughout the last century. In 1801 the population of Great Britain was under



THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

From a photograph.

To face page 88.



11,000,000; in 1901 it was about 37,000,000. This great population is, of course, thickest round the main centres of industry, the coal-fields and ironworks of Scotland, of the north and midlands of England, and south Wales; the great textile manufactures of Lancashire and Yorkshire; and the enormous hardware industries centring around Sheffield and Birmingham; also along the ship-building rivers—the Clyde, the Tyne, and the Thames—and at the great ports, such as Liverpool, Cardiff, or Southampton. London, the home of a vast carrying trade and a host of minor industries, has now a population exceeding that of many a self-governing colony—over 5,000,000 human beings. The total imports of Great Britain for 1907 were valued at £645,000,000, of which £154,000,000 came from the colonies. Britain's exports for the same year amounted to nearly £518,000,000, of which over £148,000,000 went to the colonies. By far the largest imports are food-stuffs and raw material, chiefly from the United States and the colonies. Our principal exports are textile goods and iron and steel manufactures. Our main customers are the colonies. the United States, and Germany. When we say that the total trade of the United Kingdom in 1907 amounted to £1,163,000,000, excluding home trade, we are using figures that seem impossible to grasp.

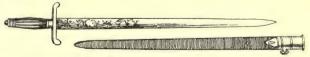
It is with problems connected with this huge commercial expansion that foreign politics are so closely concerned to-day. With such an enormous trade to guard, the British government has constantly to be ready to protect the interest of its subjects. Moreover, the British Isles no longer stand alone; they are the centre of a vast Empire, composed of races of every colour, religion, and history, and in every stage of commercial development. To the commerce of the United Kingdom we must add the commerce of the rest of the Empire, if we wish to understand the vastness of the interests confided to the care of the Imperial government. In 1907 the trade of the British Empire amounted to £1,667,000,000.

No part of the Empire can consider itself untouched by the problems which the statesmen of the Home government have to face, however remote they may seem. British policy is directed to keeping the peace by maintaining friendly relations with all the Great Powers, and forming alliances by royal marriages or by treaties. A war in Europe would have the most serious effects on every colony, as regards its trade, its independence, and perhaps its very existence. The problems of Asia and Africa, in which the self-governing colonies are concerned, cannot be settled without reference to the European Powers involved, and for all such bargaining and arrangement the Empire stands in a far stronger position than any single colony. For these reasons Imperial foreign policy must be centred in Europe and controlled by one supreme authority; hence schemes are afloat for a representative Central Council of the Empire.

Another aspect of imperial world policy is the changing relation of Europe to the eastern peoples, caused by the new forward movement in Japan, and also in China. The eastern empires, so long isolated and almost stationary, are re-awakening;

the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the defeat of Russia by Japan in 1904 give a foretaste of the new problems with which the Empire is being called upon to deal. They cannot be solved by the local action of this or that colony, regardless of the common interests of the European races. Such action might, in the no distant future, lead to a world conflagration between Europeans and Asiatics.

In face of these tremendous issues, the importance of maintaining the unity and the prestige of the Empire is increasingly apparent. It must never be forgotten how largely this depends upon the naval strength of Great Britain. The British fleet, the largest and strongest in the world, is not merely the safeguard of Britain's prosperity, but the basis of her diplomatic strength. The cost of its upkeep is therefore an imperial matter. At present this heavy burden, which now amounts to over £40,000,000, is principally borne by the inhabitants of the British Isles. In 1909-10 the naval expenditure of the Empire on sea-going forces was over £36,300,000, to which the United Kingdom contributed £35,800,000, and the rest of the Empire under £500,000. Signs are not wanting, however, that the time is coming when the Dominions will find it seemly to take a larger part in contributing to a form of defence so necessary to their prosperity and so vital to their wider interests.



NELSON'S DIRK USED WHEN A MIDSHIPMAN.

## CHAPTER X

### POLITICAL EMANCIPATION

Representation of boroughs and counties before the Reform Bill—Corruption in public life—The Reform Bill—The enfranchisement of the artisan and the agricultural labourer—Effects of these changes—The future.

THE tremendous economic changes and the commercial expansion which have been described in the last two chapters have led to corresponding changes in the political constitution of Great Britain.

The old middle class, consisting of landowners and merchants, professional men and traders, which since the early days of parliament had been represented in the House of Commons, was rapidly swollen by the crowd of capitalist employers, dealers, and middlemen of every sort, who sprang up during the Industrial Revolution. These new men demanded a share in the government equal to their growing wealth and importance in the nation. Parliament had not been reformed since the Middle Ages. It was altogether behind the times. In the country the right to vote was still confined to those men who owned land as a freehold valued at not less than 40s. a year. But the small freeholders had by now been mostly swallowed up by the owners of the large estates formed during the two periods of enclosure and eviction (see pp. 32, 81)). No copyholder or tenant had a vote, whatever the size of his holding.

As for the towns, the franchise there had been left to the caprice of local custom; and the right to send burgesses to parliament at all was only possessed by those boroughs which had gained it centuries before. In course of time some of these places had ceased to exist, or dwindled to a house or two: others had doubled or trebled in size; while the great new towns which had sprung up during the Industrial Revolution were not represented at all. In one borough the solitary elector elected himself. "A green mound," "a stone wall with the three niches in it," and "a noble park" each returned two members to parliament. In other places the right of voting rested with five or six electors, who openly advertised the position of their representative for sale. Half the House of Commons represented only 6,000 electors.

We have seen what use had been made of this state of affairs by the Whig oligarchy, and afterwards by the King in holding his position against them (see pp. 55, 57). From the reign of George II. bribery had been reduced to a system. Members of parliament could, and did, sell their votes in the House of Commons for places for themselves and their relatives, and also for ready money. George III. tried to outbid the great Whig nobles, and, with scarcely a pretence of secrecy, bought a majority of "King's friends" in the House of Commons. Parliament must indeed have been "better than the best man in it" for Great Britain to have held her own so successfully as she did in the eighteenth century.

Early in the nineteenth century the movement for

the reform of parliament began to grow in strength. Gradually, despite the statements of eminent persons like the Duke of Wellington, that the existing system was the best possible in this world, the more modern section of the Whig party began to see that what the Radicals or root-and-branch men were fighting for must be seriously considered, or the country would break into open revolt; for the middle-class agitation was rendered formidable by the distress and discontent of the working people. Lord John Russell, son of the Duke of Bedford, introduced a Reform Bill into the House of Commons in 1831, abolishing the "rotten boroughs" and giving representation to many large towns, particularly in the north. The number of county members was increased in the larger counties, and the richer tenants obtained the right to vote. It was a very moderate Bill, but it failed to pass the House of Commons, and parliament was dissolved. A wave of revolutionary feeling was just then passing over Europe, and the agitation in England rose to boiling-point. The new parliament was elected amid riots and disturbances in favour of "the Bill. the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," and the House of Commons passed it; but the House of Lords refused to do so until King William IV. threatened to create sufficient new Peers to give the reformers a majority. Then in 1832 the Peers yielded rather than suffer the indignity of seeing their House filled with a mass of newly-created nobles.

By the great Reform Bill the middle classes got the share in government which they demanded,

but the franchise was really extended to only a small percentage of the men of the country. The working classes were still profoundly discontented, for they were still extremely miserable, and the longhoped-for Reform Bill had brought little aid to them. All Europe was in a ferment, for the Industrial Revolution and the consequent demand for political reform had spread to other nations. The unrest seething on the Continent found its counterpart in the English agitation for the Charter, which formulated the demand of the poor for representation in the national parliament. Chartist riots assumed formidable proportions, especially the attempt to march to the House of Commons in 1848. But the repeal of the Corn Laws, and of the laws against combination, also the passing of Factory Acts, and even the reform of the Poor Law in 1834, were all helping the increasing industrial expansion to relieve the immediate distress. Moreover, both political parties took up the question of extended parliamentary reform, though years of agitation were required before the franchise was extended to the artisans and mechanics of the towns by the Conservative government in Disraeli's Bill of 1867. The same lengthy process was required before the Liberal government of Gladstone could extend the franchise to the agricultural labourers in 1885.

When we talk of these classes being enfranchised, we do not mean that every mechanic or every labourer was given the right to vote because of his calling. Even to-day the franchise in England is dependent on the occupation of some house, or part

of a house, or of land, for a fixed period of time. Given this qualification, a man can vote in every constituency where he is thus qualified—i.e., he may vote twenty times at the same general election if he possesses qualifications in twenty different places. The idea is that a man with a large stake in the country ought to have more influence than a man with less property.

Nevertheless, the results of these changes have been tremendous. In the first place, armed revolution has lost its meaning. If the will of the majority can make itself felt peacefully by means of the ballot-box there seems little reason in resorting to physical force. Again, men with a vote are being educated by that vote itself in the responsibilities thus given to them. They appreciate these responsibilities more and more, if one can judge by the percentage of votes cast at elections and the general interest in public affairs. Also corruption in public offices is not considered an honourable thing now that the nation realizes that it controls these offices and has to pay for the work done The king no longer rules two nations, the Rich and the Poor, to quote Disraeli's phrase. A general election is an appeal to the responsible people of all classes.

On the other hand, the poor are still heavily handicapped in obtaining the election of their own class to represent their particular interests. For, although the ancient practice of paying members was restored in 1911, the cost of standing for Parliament, and of sitting there, is very great. Further a considerable proportion of the adult



BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD.

From the original in the National Portrait Gallery.



population do not yet possess the franchise. There is a loud demand on the part of women to be given the vote on the same terms on which it is or may be granted to men. Another party claims universal suffrage for all men and women; and Great Britain watches with attention the more advanced political activity of some of her daughter colonies.

# CHAPTER XI

#### CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Position of the King and of his Ministers—The Cabinet— Control of Ministers by the House of Commons—The power of the purse—Judicial functions—Legislation— The Second Chamber.

It is impossible to understand the British system of government except by a study of its history. There is no written constitution by which the duties of ministers, officials, and judges are defined. The Cabinet, on which the working of the whole depends, is unknown to the law. The king, to all appearance, is the head of all administration—of the army, the navy, and the law-courts. His assent is necessary for all Acts of Parliament; he sends ambassadors and declares war or makes peace.

But the king does not really do all these things: the custom has grown up that all his acts must be approved by the minister responsible for that particular branch of the administration, and that the minister cannot shelter himself behind the command of the king. "The king can do no wrong." If any action is not approved by parliament, the minister in question is held responsible. In earlier times he was liable to attainder or impeachment: now he loses his office. Hence no minister would now take office under a Sovereign who attempted to act contrary to the advice of his ministers. It is to parliament that ministers are responsible-more particularly to the House of Commons, which represents the people through their elected representatives. But the ministers do not face the House singly; they are bound to support each other—the custom has so grown up. Naturally, then, all the ministers expect to be consulted before any important action is taken, since all will be liable to censure for the action of one of their number. This assemblage of all the important heads of departments of public service is known as the Cabinet (see p. 55), and is presided over by the Prime Minister, who on important occasions acts as their spokesman.

The struggle for the first Reform Bill taught the Cabinet its power. No sovereign has attempted to dismiss a ministry which is backed by the House of Commons since William IV. dismissed Lord Melbourne in 1834, and had to take him back in 1835.

It is by means of the Cabinet that the business of the State is carried on—a business with an income of £170,000,000 a year. Cabinet ministers are responsible for the efficiency of the various departments. Even though at first they may have little technical knowledge, they are assisted by

permanent under-secretaries, who do not change when parties change, and therefore are masters of

the detail of their department.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer is responsible for all the arrangements for raising annually the money required for the service of the State. It is he who settles what commodities shall pay duty, what income tax shall be levied, what loans shall be raised. He and his department must estimate what the probable returns will be from each source of revenue. The House of Commons discusses his Budget, which becomes law if approved. It must be sufficient to meet the Estimates of the various ministers, who decide at the beginning of the financial year what amount of money their depart-

ments will require.

The First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretaries for Home Affairs, War, Colonies, Foreign Affairs, and India, are at the head of the departments of the same names. The Postmaster-General controls the Post Office, a paying business concern, which requires no financial support. Local Government, Agriculture, Trade, and Education, are nominally under the control of certain Boards; but these departments are in reality managed by their Presidents, who are ministers in the Cabinet. Other important members of the Cabinet are the Lord High Chancellor, the Irish Secretary, the Lord President of the Council, and the Lord Privy Seal. Other members of the government, who are usually not in the Cabinet, are the Law Officers and certain under-secretaries and functionaries, like the First Commissioner of Works.

The Cabinet could not continue their work if its members feared that at every moment their action would be disavowed by the House of Commons. They only take office if they are assured of the support of a majority in that House. When they lose that support they resign.

lose that support they resign.

Such is the "Party System," as known in Great Britain. In this way the people are in the end the controlling force in the administration of the country. They elect their representatives; the majority of these form a party, which supports a certain set of ministers, who hold their offices as long as they retain the confidence of this majority. General elections must occur every five years or oftener. They make it impossible for any party to retain power if the electors disapprove of their record of work, and prefer some other policy.

The means by which the majority in the House of Commons retain their predominance in the British government is the supply of money. All taxes and all expenditure must be approved yearly by the House of Commons in the form of Budget and Estimates. No ministers could carry on government contrary to the decisions of the House of Commons, unless they were prepared to face a revolution. They would find it impossible to raise money under such circumstances, and without money they would be helpless.

It is also by this control of the purse that the House of Commons has won its present power. We have seen how the Commons began, during the Hundred Years' War, to make good a claim to control the use of the supplies they granted (see

p. 37). In Charles II.'s time (1678) they successfully claimed that grants "ought not to be changed or altered by the House of Lords." In 1861 the Lords' right of rejecting a financial proposal of the Commons was restricted, by including all the grants for the financial year in one Bill.

The administration of justice is supposed to be the prerogative of the king; he is nominally the person to settle disputes between his subjects, and to punish offenders against the law of the land. This duty has been gradually deputed to a body of men, who are as far as possible independent of the government. The judges hold their office for life, are paid large salaries, and, thanks to this fact and to the force of public opinion, are as impartial a body as exists in the world. In most important cases they are assisted by a jury—a body of twelve men chosen from the people of the district-who give their opinions on the facts of the case, while leaving to the judge the duty of stating the law bearing upon it. This is a survival of the ancient custom in the Shire or Hundred Court (see p. 18), when the accused was brought before his neighbours, who expressed their opinions on his guilt or innocence. In old days, when judges were subservient to the king or to the most powerful faction in the state, the jury often defended individuals from injustice. The value of the system to-day is sometimes disputed.

After the administrative and judicial functions of government comes the legislative function—the making of new laws desired by the representatives of the people. The process is naturally slow and

carefully guarded. A Bill is introduced into the Upper or Lower House, read a first time-that is to say, is printed and circulated among the members. It is then read a second time, and discussion is allowed concerning the general principle involved. If the voting on this shows that it is approved by the majority, it is referred to a Committee, a small one for a trivial measure, but a Committee of the whole House if the matter is of sufficient importance. There the Bill is considered, and perhaps changed, in detail: then in its amended form it is considered by the House once more in the report and third reading. If it is then approved, it is sent on to the House of Lords or Commons, as the case may be, and passes here through the same stages. Finally, it goes to the king for his approval, receives it, and becomes an Act. The last stage is purely formal: no sovereign has refused assent to a Bill since Queen Anne in 1707.

The House of Lords is the second half of the Legislature, the Second Chamber which is to be found in some form or another in nearly all countries. It owes its origin to the Great Council (see pp. 18, 25). Till recently it could reject or amend any Bills sent up by the House of Commons which did not concern the supply of money. But by the Parliament Act of 1911 its powers have been restricted and defined. A Bill, passed three times by the Lower House in not less than two years in the same parliament, will become law with the royal assent, even if the Lords have persistently rejected it.

The House of Lords is composed of the hereditary Peers, most of the bishops of the Church

of England, and the Scotch and Irish representatives elected by the whole body of Scotch or Irish Peers. New Peers are constantly being created in recognition of eminent public services as an administrator, as a soldier or a sailor, as a philanthropist, or as a successful or generous politician.

As head of the English Church, the king—of course, with the advice of his ministers—appoints the bishops and some other dignitaries, though nominally they are elected by the clergy.

# CHAPTER XII

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND

The history of local government—Relation between local and central government—Duties and powers of local bodies—Their funds—Local electors.

From time immemorial England has been divided into little townships or parishes; small districts, formerly known as hundreds; and larger districts, called shires or counties. We have seen (p. 18) how all these districts once held periodic assembles to manage their local affairs, and how these assemblies lost their powers (see pp. 19, 36), though the cities which secured charters in the Middle Ages always kept their self-governing corporations. These were reformed, and the new towns were given Borough Councils after the reform of Parliament (1835 and 1883).

# 104 LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND

The assemblies of the little townships or villages and of the hundreds got swallowed up in the courts of feudal manors, but the village church made a separate centre for the life of the place; and the vestry, which originally was only an assemblage for church purposes, including the help of the needy. became, under Queen Elizabeth's laws, the official centre in each locality for the relief of the poor.

In the eighteenth century some parishes united to start workhouses, and when the old Poor Law was taken in hand by the reformed Parliament in 1834, unions of parishes were created all over the country, each union under the control of a Board of Guardians.

As the business of the shire courts gradually passed, during the Middle Ages, into the hands of justices of the peace appointed by the king, the sheriff lost his powers, and the assemblies ceased to be of any importance. But the magistrates, appointed for life, acted independently of the central government, and virtually ruled the countryside. To some extent they do so still.

In 1888 the English counties were remodelled, and once again made important centres of local administration, with authority over the lesser districts. These lesser districts have been frequently altered, and fresh ones created for special purposes, so that there is still considerable overlapping. The reorganization of English local government is by no means complete, and the question of the amount of the rates paid by the occupiers of houses and land, according to the rent, and applied to local purposes by the various local bodies, is a burning one in England. So is the share that should be paid towards the expenses of local administration by the

central government.

The Local Government Board, a department under a President who is also a Cabinet Minister, was created in 1871, as a central authority to overlook and control all the multifarious local bodies. Its efficiency is also an open question. Some of the powers at present vested in local bodies are controlled by other central State departments—the Home Office and the Boards of Education, of Trade, and of Agriculture. Each of these departments overlooks some branch of local affairs, and gives expert advice to local authorities by means of a staff of inspectors.

A County Council has charge of the roads and bridges, the health and sanitation, and the education of its administrative area, either directly or through the Urban or Rural District, or the Parish Councils which it supervises. It may do much more than this if it so desires. For example, it may provide hospitals, asylums, industrial schools, or light railways. Except in London, the County Councils administer the county police-force in co-operation with the justices of the peace.

In large towns the police are under the municipal authority. It is the duty of this authority to see that the streets under its control are clean, that the houses provided for its people are safe and sanitary, that the food sold is not injurious to health, that workshops are reasonably healthy and safe, that there is proper protection against fire, that children are provided with suitable and sufficient

education. Besides all this, a municipal or borough council is allowed to provide public baths, washhouses, and libraries; to feed the children who come to school without sufficient nourishment, and are therefore not in a condition to benefit by teaching; to have children medically inspected; and to provide work for the workless poor in times of stress. It is also legal for a municipal body to provide means of transport, such as trams or steamers; to sell provisions—milk for little children, for example; in fact, to enter upon all sorts of undertakings which at one time were left to individual enterprise.

Local bodies spend enormous sums upon these vast and varied activities, and their expenditure has increased tremendously during the last forty years. In 1868 the local revenue was £30,000,000, in 1904 it was £133,000,000. When money is required for large enterprises, local bodies may borrow capital under certain restrictions. The amount of loans to be paid off amounted in 1904 to £394,000,000. Local authorities can acquire land for public purposes, and may let it out in small holdings.

The authorities who manage all this business are elected in each town, county, district, or parish. The elected councillors are not paid, but do their work from other motives, in which personal advantage or class interests sometimes play an undue part. The voters who elect them are both men and women. Considerable interest is shown in the elections in the big towns, where great interests are at stake, and for county elections, where large tracts of country are concerned. Sometimes even a small parish council finds party feeling running high. The

general result is that numbers of the population are educated in political life—a fact which exercises a steadying influence on the affairs of the national parliament.

# CHAPTER XIII

### PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY

Importance of Britain to the Empire—Constant rise of fresh problems—Problems which seem to have been solved: the position of the king, slavery, religious toleration—Problems which still remain: the land, the regulation of industry, poverty, unemployment, education, national health, town-planning—Problems of defence: the army and navy—Problems of finance and of government: the power of the Cabinet—The problem of Empire: government by a democracy.

Great Britain is the centre of the Empire. To her the great States that have sprung from her look to develop their unity and safeguard their world-interests. It is she who controls the diplomacy of the whole and the means of intercommunication and defence. It is essential therefore that she shall be healthy and vigorous as a nation; that her people shall be wise, strong, and free. Thus the internal development of Great Britain is of direct interest to the Empire in the future, as it has been of fundamental importance in the past.

We have seen how, in the course of her history, the life of her people, their government and their religious ideas have changed. The nation is changing to-day, and will continue to change as long as it has life. Those who govern it—that is to say, in these days of growing democracy, the people themselves—must constantly choose which path they wish to take, and how fast they wish to travel that path. They must be ready to face, with such knowledge as they possess, the ever-changing problems that time brings before them.

Of these problems, some seem to have been solved for the time being, others brought near solution; others, again, await the wisdom of generations to come. Amongst the problems which appear to have been solved is the position of the Crown. From the dim ages of which we have but the tradition the English people seem to have been animated by a passionate loyalty to that royal house, one of whose members has reigned in England, with few and brief exceptions, from time immemorial. For ages now this royal house has united in its reigning representative the blood royal of Scotland and of Wales, so that the sense of loyalty has become British. But this deep-rooted, ancient loyalty notwithstanding, the English people have seen to it all through the long ages of their national history that their sovereign represented the interests of the Moreover, they have not hesitated to oust the reigning member of the royal house in favour of another of his kindred if they discovered that they were being betrayed. This twofold attitude has been a deep-lying source of strength and unity in the British people.

Another great problem which seems to be solved is that of slavery. It died out in England ages ago, but she was a slave-dealing nation down to the last century. The profound movement towards individual



WINDSOR CASTLE, FROM THE THAMES.



freedom which declared itself in England, as elsewhere, at the Renaissance, and which took such strong hold in Britain, caused her, early in the nineteenth century, to take the lead in abolishing the traffic in men and in enforcing the emancipation of slaves in all her colonies. Her imperial policy is to-day steadfastly set to prevent any fresh growth of slavery.

Connected with this same movement for individual freedom is another problem, which Britain is on the highroad to solve-religious toleration. We have seen how the right of each person to think for himself in religious matters, and to worship as he thinks most fitting, was won in England through centuries of strife, during which the very people who were fighting for their own freedom were denving to their fellows the freedom to think differently. Gradually, from the claim of this or that faith to freedom, has arisen the claim of all faiths to toleration within the British Isles-partly because the growth of the Empire has made it necessary to face this question on the broadest lines. For the British Empire protects every variety of heathen, Mohammedan, and Christian, so long as their religious observances do not involve the destruction of individual liberty and of human life. The only people in Great Britain who are legally obliged to hold any special religious views are the officials of the Church of England, the Sovereign, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The problem in Great Britain has now been reduced to a question of religious equality in the matters of education and the endowments of the Established Churches.

There are other difficulties, however, on a much

larger scale, which still remain to be faced. We have seen how the feudal system of land-holding for service gradually broke up and decayed. On the ruins no national system of land-tenure has been evolved, and no special national service is legally imposed upon even the largest landholders in the British Isles; though landowners have generally been readier than owners of other forms of wealth to recognize that property has its duties as well as its rights. The enormous growth of mining has introduced another important consideration into the land question; as has also the growth of great towns, and the wealth they have brought to people who happened to hold land near them, or the land upon which they are built. These questions are occupying British statesmen of all parties, and all hope to bring back to the soil that large class of small cultivators who form, in many ways, the backbone of a nation.

We have seen (Chapter VIII.) that another British problem is the extent to which the present State control of industry should be carried. It has been extending with increasing rapidity, as the evils resulting from new forms of industry, when unregulated in the national interest, have become more apparent; and the question how far this State control of industry ought to, or can, be carried is one of the greatest problems of domestic politics.

Another problem, closely related to the two previous ones, is the question of destitution. Despite the enormous wealth of Great Britain and her commercial prosperity, there exists, besides the idle rich, another and still larger class of idle poor. There are the people who neither wish, nor have the

capacity, to work steadily, and there are the people who wish to work and cannot find work to do; and these, through lack of regular employment and through wretchedness, are continually liable to drift into the ranks of the unemployable. Besides these, there are the very poor, who cannot work because they are too young, too old, or too ill. About £14,000,000 a year is spent in Great Britain on the relief of the poor, besides all that is given in charity, through hospitals and societies, and by private persons; yet men and women and their children still fall into utter destitution, with deplorable results to themselves and the whole nation. The reforms made by the Poor Law of Queen Elizabeth and by the newly reformed Parliament in 1834 are obviously insufficient, and public opinion is slowly being awakened to the fact (see Chapters III. and XII.). But it is divided. Some think that the thrift and independence of the people would be ruined by providing work or training when the ordinary channels of employment fail, whilst the private employer would be tempted to shift the burden of the more indifferent workmen on to the shoulders of the State. Others hold that destitution and unemployment are in themselves so demoralizing that no effort should be spared, in the national interest, to protect every human being from them.

Though England lagged so far behind Scotland and Wales in facing the problem of general education, she has progressed considerably since she made elementary education a national matter forty years ago. At present there is a general feeling that elementary education is not enough for the working classes, and a general effort is being made to save the young from being sent into the world without adequate training in some trade or profession. It is now recognized that a country's prosperity depends on the skill and character of its inhabitants —men and women, workers with hands and brains and it is held that it is the business of the State to see that all are so trained as to bring about the desired results. Schools are being provided for all classes to carry on their education after they leave the primary schools, and the more brilliant children of the working people are already given some chance of passing through the newer secondary schools to the Universities. Technical schools are springing up in all the towns, and many County Councils provide lecturers for the villages. Efforts are being made to raise the age at which a child is allowed to leave school and go to work. The great object is to prevent very young people being sent to some unskilled work, for tiny wages, which will leave them stranded when they grow up, without any training; so that, just when they ought to be able to earn good wages and marry, they are liable to lose employment altogether. Another most important step, which is slowly beginning to be taken, is to teach all boys and girls the meaning of citizenship, and that they owe service to the State.

Closely connected with the problem of education is the question of national health. Now that the largest part of the population live in towns, and so many earn their living by work in factories and workshops and by other indoor occupations, life is not so healthy as it was when people lived mostly

in the country, unless the proper precautions are taken. Moreover, the amusements of the people consist largely in watching others do things for their enjoyment, which does not tend to activity of mind or body. Accordingly, many are setting themselves to find ways of bringing town-dwellers into the fresh air, and teaching them to use their lungs and muscles. The schools are giving more attention to the physical training of boys and girls, and the care of the body is taught as a school subject. Regular medical inspection is being introduced in schools, so that any ailment in children may be found out and, if possible, cured at once. More attention is being paid to keeping towns clean; building is controlled by the local authorities. There is a movement for the careful planning of new districts and garden suburbs; garden towns are being started, where houses are not crowded together, and where factories can be built on healthy principles in the open country. Government inquiries are being made into unhealthy trades; and there are many inspectors, whose duty it is to see that workshops, etc., are properly ventilated and otherwise healthy for the work-people. Infectious diseases are notified and treated, so that no one else may catch them from those who are ill. Nevertheless, there is a vast deal yet to do before the British people are as strong and healthy as they ought to be.

A great deal of all this work is in the hands of the local authorities, so that the reorganization of local governing bodies now going on is of growing importance (see Chapter XII.). More especially is this problem of rising interest in Great Britain,

because it is becoming part of a still bigger one. The largest local divisions at present are the counties. but there is a movement on foot to make Ireland. Wales, Scotland and England into provinces, like the provinces of the Dominion of Canada, for the purpose of managing their own local affairs under the Central parliament. This, it is argued, would leave parliament more time for matters concerning the whole of the British Isles and the Empire, and at the same time would satisfy the desire for selfgovernment amongst the various races and the different countries in the British Isles. On the other hand, it is feared that the delegation of so much power would weaken the Empire at its heart, and lead to endless friction. In any case, the problem is of much interest to the Empire at large in several ways. It introduces the question of Federation.

Problems of national defence are always changing as the Empire expands and new dangers arise. The fleet is of such vital importance to the very existence of the Empire that its care has, as far as possible, been taken out of party politics. Of course, constant differences of opinion arise as to the amount of expenditure necessary, but there is a general agreement that everything must be done which is called for by the experts to whom the matter is entrusted (see Chapter IX., also Book III., Chapter VI.).

The army problem is exceptional in Britain. The Empire requires an army which can be called upon to serve in any part of the world at a moment's notice. This army must be paid and voluntary, as it would be impossible to expect soldiers raised by any system of conscription or universal service



First Royal Dragoons.



Royal Engineers.



Royal Artillery.



Royal Marine Light Infantry.



Royal Welsh Fusiliers.



Seaforth Highlanders.

ARMY TYPES: BRITISH REGIMENTS.



to undertake such work. Accordingly, a first line, or expeditionary force, of about 160,000 highly-trained men has been organized, with an elaborate system of reserves behind it. For home defence the Territorial force exists, nearly 300,000 strong. A large section of men and women wish to see this training for home defence made compulsory, declaring that the results would be beneficial in a variety of ways.

All these, and the many other immense undertakings confronting Great Britain, demand for their adequate treatment a tremendous revenue in the hands of the central and local authorities. A problem of paramount importance is how it shall be raised. There are two lines of policy with regard to this question of taxation. The one is the continuation and development of the old Free Trade policy of the Liberal party, which demands that revenue shall be largely raised by a tax upon the incomes of those who have more than a certain amount a year. This has been done regularly ever since Free Trade was introduced (see Chapter IX.). Lately this incometax has been graduated, so that the richer a person is the more he pays in proportion, and those who are richest and need do no work for their income pay the most. The other view is that the money for necessary public services, such as national defence and old-age pensions, can to some extent at least be raised by a system of protective duties, by which the foreigner shall pay part of the taxes, and home industries shall be encouraged. It is hoped also by a system of preference to bind the colonies closer to the Mother Country.

For the solution of all these problems, and all the political work of the nation and the Empire, Great Britain has the machinery of the ancient "Mother of Parliaments." We have seen how Parliament, and especially the House of Commons, has developed with the ages. The powers of Parliament have gradually increased, and so have the numbers of the electors who send representatives there. We have seen that there has been a large extension in the number of electors of late years, and that other classes are urgently demanding the right to be represented (see Chapter X.). A rearrangement of the constituencies is also urgently called for, to fit in with recent changes in population, and a reform of the register to make it simpler and easier to become an elector. Also many people are anxious that there shall be only one vote for the landowner with several properties, and not a vote for each property. Many people again are in favour of the payment of members of the House of Commons, more especially as all parties desire to see working men sit in Parliament. A burning question at this moment is the reform of the House of Lords and the extent of its powers.

Another parliamentary question of continually increasing importance is the growing power of the Cabinet in the House of Commons (see Chapters IV. and XI.). Nominally the servant of the majority there, it is practically their master. Private members have no chance of asserting themselves against the elaborate system enforced for the regulation of debates, which is virtually altogether in the hands of the ministry and their party organization. Some



THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT AND WESTMINSTER HALL.



people in Britain are asking, "Is the Cabinet becoming dangerously strong?" The question is profoundly important, because the experiment has never been tried vet that a real democracy should be the centre of a great world-empire. The so-called democracies of the past that were the centre states of empires rested on the labour of the unfree, and the free citizens, who ruled through their votes, were the men of the upper and middle classes only. The workers and the women, upon whom all human communities depend for existence, had no voice, Great Britain, where every man and woman is supposed to be a free individual, has taken the first steps towards trying this experiment, and has already a very large working-class electorate. It is therefore of signal importance to Britain and to all her children that she find the wisest way of steadying and giving sufficient permanence to her Central Administration, keeping it in touch with the people and yet so freehanded that it can act with steady strength. On this, and on the character of her citizens, the place of the Empire amongst world states depends.

# CHAPTER XIV

# DOWNING STREET AND THE COLONIES

Beginnings of the Colonial Secretaryship—Indifference in the past to the colonies—Present policy—Types of colony—Need for a central controlling power—The independent colonial spirit.

In the old days, when the colonies were comparatively insignificant—to be precise, from 1801 to

1854—the Secretary of State for War was also Secretary of State for the Colonies. In 1854 the Crimean War gave him so much to do that the colonies were handed over to the special care of another Secretary, who now is always a member of the Cabinet. Acting upon his advice, the Crown can disallow any law, even if it has already been passed by the colonial parliaments. He is the official link between the British government and the colonies.

Every political institution in England is the result of slow growth: the English have always been against sudden changes or rash experiments. To the onlooker the acquisition of colonies has often seemed the result of a policy of "muddling through," rather than of well-ordered plans; and, indeed, in the days gone by British statesmen had no very clear ideas about the value of colonies. shall see in their various histories how often the right course of action seems to have been neglected. Even down to a comparatively recent date many men in England felt grave doubts as to the value of the colonies to the Mother Country. The old idea of a colony was simply a convenience for the trade of the home merchant. The revolt of the American colonies, far from destroying the trade with them, increased it enormously, and many politicians felt that it was not worth the trouble to retain any hold over distant lands if commerce would not suffer from their independence. Of course, there were many reasons why the trade with the United States increased: the Industrial Revolution created such an immense demand for raw cotton in England that

we were forced to buy it from the States, and they were equally forced to take finished goods from us in return.

After the wars with Napoleon, Great Britain was too busy to attend much to colonial affairs, and the colonists were left very largely to manage their own business. This, again, frightened many politicians, who thought that these various lands would claim complete independence as soon as they felt strong enough to stand alone. All parties failed to grasp the fact that a time might come when the selfgoverning colonies would be bound to the Mother Country by strong ties of affection, while preserving an almost absolute control over their own affairs; and, further, that a sense would arise in them of the growing need for mutual support, as portions of a world-state, allied or at enmity with the other great empires of the world. Recent history shows that to make a people responsible for its own future is the surest way to establish an abiding unity in the Empire.

There are two different types of colonies, distinguished by the ends they are intended to serve and the motives which drew settlers to them. There are lands where the conditions of life in Britain are reproduced, so that the colonist finds himself at home immediately, and proceeds to establish a mode of existence very like that in the old country. This can only occur where the climate is somewhat similar, and where there is not too large or hostile a native population. When the climate and general conditions are totally different from those of Great Britain, and where the natives are strong and in the majority,

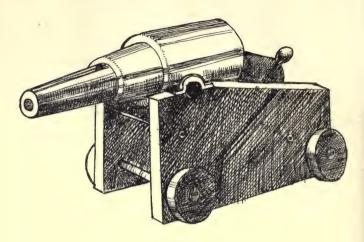
a different type of colony exists. The white man takes the lead because he is a more forceful and efficient person than the native. To the original owner of the land he owes at least the duty of raising the country to a higher grade of civilization. The two types of colony are very dissimilar, and naturally call for different forms of government. In the former the settler can employ with advantage the self-government which he enjoyed at home; while in the latter the administration must be controlled from Britain, whence will come assistance in men and money when need arises.

Thus the whole of the British Empire is bound together in various ways; in each case the degree of central control necessary can be understood from a consideration of the circumstances of the case. Gibraltar is a rock fortress, a military and naval post; there the Governor is absolute, but responsible to a Cabinet minister in Britain. In seventeen other Crown colonies, as they are called, the Governor is aided in administration by an Executive Council, while in the making of laws he has the advice of a Legislative Council, but both councils are nominated by the Crown. For example, Sierra Leone contains a few white men, but they are not called upon to elect representatives for the management of the affairs of the whole population, who, whether black or white, are British subjects and require equal treatment before the law.

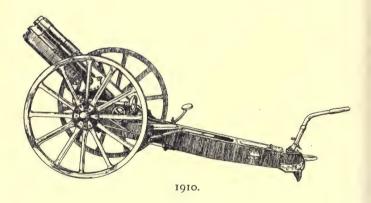
In the remaining Crown colonies the Legislative Council is partially or wholly elected by the people, while the Crown selects the ministers. Here is a type that may develop into a full-fledged, self-governing colony, where the ministers are responsible to the electors who place them in their positions. Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand have all passed through this phase before blossoming out into self-governing dominions.

Hence we find the immense variety among the parts of the British Empire, culminating in a freedom which is startling to a foreigner. The idea of merely making the colony useful to the Mother Country has passed away. Canada can now impose a heavy tariff on British goods if it pleases her; she can make regulations, restricting the arrival even of British subjects in her ports. On the other hand, the British parliament can and does pass laws which are binding upon the colonies. The Commonwealth of Australia owes its constitution to a law passed by the parliament at Westminster.

Of the future it seems unnecessary to speak. It is certain that the self-governing colonies will not throw away rashly the enormous advantages they reap from British influence and from British power, personified in the British fleet. On the other hand, great countries like Australia, South Africa, and Canada feel themselves strong enough to take rank as states of importance, even to take a real share in their own defence and that of the Empire. They would never give up the independence they have gained or the control of the taxes they think fit to raise. The problem of colonial policy is the combination of these two desires for independence in self-government and for imperial unity.



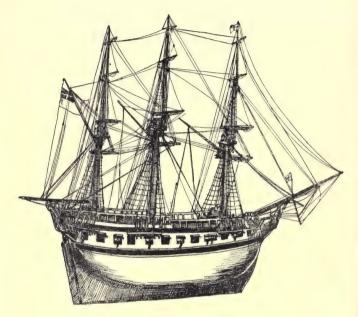
1854.



# BOOK II

# THE SELF-GOVERNING STATES

- I, THE DOMINION OF CANADA (WITH NEWFOUND-LAND).
- II. THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
- III. THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND.
- IV. THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.



MODEL OF COOK'S SHIP.

# THE DOMINION OF CANADA (WITH NEWFOUNDLAND)

# CHAPTER I

#### PHYSICAL FEATURES

Position—Extent—Mountains—Plains—Lakes and rivers— Prevailing winds—Effect upon climate—Influence of natural conditions upon European settlers.

THE Dominion of Canada and the self-governing colony of Newfoundland occupy the whole upper half of North America, with the exception of Alaska, which belongs to the United States, and the Danish outpost of Greenland. This vast section of the British Empire stretches for 3,000 miles from east to west, and for over 2,000 miles from north to south. The total area is more than thirty times that of the British Isles.

In the extreme north the barren lands which border the Arctic Ocean are icebound for most of the year, though the cold has not been enough to frighten away gold prospectors from the valley of the Yukon River. Southwards the country becomes more and more hospitable down to the delightful regions where the hot summers and cold winters are

tempered by the great lakes, by the Pacific, or by the Atlantic Ocean; and the frontiers of Canada and the United States of America run partly along latitude 49° 1" which passes just north of Paris in Europe. Off the western coast lies the island of Vancouver; on the eastern coast, at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, lie the great island of Newfoundland and the smaller islands of Prince Edward and Cape Breton.

The continent of North America consists of an immense central plain, with a mighty chain of mountains running down the whole of its western side, and lower and more broken mountain-ranges on the east. On the east of British North America the height of land and the highlands of Labrador never rise above 3,000 feet. On the west the great chain of the Cordilleras broadens into a mass of ranges, where the summits are over 12,000 feet above sea-level. The most inland of these ranges is called the Rockies. The coastal plains on either side of British North America are narrow, and therefore the rivers flowing down into the Atlantic or the Pacific Ocean are short and rapid. But the rivers which rise on the inland sides of the mountains and flow across the great central plain are long and navigable, making wonderful waterways.

All along the shores of the Arctic Ocean and of Hudson Bay the great central plains are low and desolate; but behind these "tundras" they rise to vast uplands over 600 feet above sea-level, where the open woods become dense forests towards the south-east, and grass-lands on the south-west. Westward the plain slopes up towards the Rockies,

and forms a lofty plateau over 1,500 feet above the sea. As we consider the other climatic conditions as well as the latitude, we shall see why the plains to the south are so fertile and so suited to animal life.

Through these central plains run three great systems of waterways. To the north the Great Bear and Great Slave Lakes are fed from the Rockies. and flow into the Arctic Ocean by the Mackenzie River. It is frozen for most of the year, and is therefore of little use for navigation. The Red River and the Saskatchewan also run down from the Rockies, but into Lake Winnipeg; from it the Nelson flows into Hudson Bay. The third system is the most important waterway in the world. Five great lakes-Superior, Michigan (in the United States), Huron, Erie, and Ontario-with a combined area of 100,000 square miles, pour their waters into the Atlantic by the river and gulf of St. Lawrence. For 1,400 miles this mighty stream runs through the heart of the country, offering means of access for settlers and an invaluable thoroughfare for trade

Canada lies a little to the north of the westerly storm winds; the result is that north winds prevail over most of the Dominion. As they are coming from cold regions, they do not bring with them much moisture, so the rainfall is not heavy. This is particularly true in the central plains, where no mountains running east and west interfere with the north wind as it rushes down from the Arctic region, bringing with it snow that lies on the ground for many months. On the Pacific coast, where the winds frequently come from a south-westerly

direction, the moisture they carry is caught by the mountains and falls on the western slopes in the form of rain. Afterwards the wind, now warm and dry, passes over the Rockies and melts the snow on their eastern slopes for 200 miles. Owing to this "Chinook," there is grazing in these districts all the year round. This same south-west wind also affects the sea on the west by causing a south-westerly current of warmed water, which keeps the ports on the Pacific free from ice in winter. Compare them with the eastern ports: there the prevailing northerly winds sweep down water from the Polar seas, and the harbours are ice-locked for much of the year. On the other hand, the Polar current brings down masses of the tiny animalculæ which form the staple food of fishes, and has thus given to Newfoundland and Labrador their fishing industry.

We can now gain some idea why the early settlers chose certain places, and why the country has since been opened out in certain directions. The extreme west possesses perhaps the best climate in the world; thanks to the mountains, the winds, and the sea, the rainfall is sufficient, the soil is fertile, the slopes are forest-clad, and extremes of heat and cold are never felt. But these mountains have proved so tremendous a barrier that settlers from over the Atlantic have arrived there last of all. The east coast lies nearest to Europe, and the gulf and river of St. Lawrence offer an easy entrance to the southerly lands, where the climate is almost perfect for the trees, the cereals, and the fruits of the temperate zone; so that the colonist could easily

support himself. Hudson Bay enabled traders to reach a land where the cold has given the wild animals the heavy furs so prized in Europe. The central plains of the south-west, where the rainfall is not heavy enough to produce forests, were the abode of herds of buffalo and deer, hunted by Indians and white men for meat and hides. Only when communication was opened up with the towns on the east were the wheat-producing powers of the western plains of any value. Canada, therefore, was first attractive to the fisherman, because of the seafisheries of Newfoundland; then to the trader, who required furs from the north; then to the settler, who wanted to provide his needs from his own holding; and then to the "lumber-man" and to the agriculturist, who wished to send their wood and wheat to Europe.

# CHAPTER II

# COLONIZATION AND CONQUEST

Original inhabitants—The first explorers—Newfoundland
—The fishermen—Treaty of Utrecht—French settlements on the mainland—Religion—The Coureurs de bois—The European wars—The capture of Quebec—End of French rule.

When the first Europeans came to North America they found it inhabited by several native peoples. Nobody knows the early history of the Red Indians and Eskimos of Canada. They are of different races, judging from the long black hair, copper skins, and fine figures of the former and the fair complexions, auburn hair, and short, square bodies of the latter. The Eskimos were probably driven northwards by their stronger rivals; at all events, they hate them to this day.

The Red Indians are divided into scattered tribes, who have often joined in great confederations—such as Iroquois, Algonquins, or Hurons. They live chiefly by hunting and fishing. Driven back by the early settlers, they have often seized the opportunity of European dissensions to avenge themselves. They fought fiercely against both the French and the English, or joined with one nation against the other. Gradually they have become fewer and fewer, and in modern times reserves of land have been set apart for them by the governments of Canada and the United States, where they live according to their own customs.

As far as is known, the Norsemen, in the tenth century, were the first Europeans to visit North America. They worked their way round by Greenland to the coast of Labrador in search of pine-stems for masts. Between them and more modern explorers there is a gap of some five centuries.

In the fifteenth century, in the days of the reawakening search for knowledge, men were filled with a desire to know more of the earth on which they lived. They had only just discovered that it was round, and thought all land west of Europe must be part of India. The Spanish king sent an Italian sailor, Christopher Columbus, across the unknown Atlantic Ocean to find the land of which there was a vague tradition (1492). Henry VII. of England, not to be outdone, sent another Italian seaman, John Cabot, on a like mission (see p. 35).

Cabot and his son Sebastian found the "nose of America," Cape Breton, or, as the people of Newfoundland prefer to suppose, the headland of Bonavista on their great island just above. Henry VII. gave flo from his privy purse "to him that found the New Isle" on August 10, 1497. Sebastian Cabot went again, with five ships, and sailed 1,800 miles along the coast from Hudson Bay to Virginia. From the days of Queen Elizabeth a succession of adventurers, traders, and privateers wandered across the Atlantic, seeking either El Dorado or the North-West Passage to India. Instead, they found the North American coast and the frozen lands of the Arctic Circle. The Hudson Bay Company was formed in 1670, to trade in furs with the Indians, as a result of these explorations.

Meanwhile, hardy fishermen from all the nations of Western Europe made for the cod-banks of Newfoundland in their brown-sailed smacks, and a few settled along the shore, where they dried and salted the fish to send home. They were ruled by "Fishing Admirals"—i.e., the masters of the first ships which entered the harbour each season. The captains of the men-of-war stationed on the coast often took the administration into their own hands. These fisherfolk were always fighting with the natives, and shot them down like wild beasts. No Indians now remain in the island. Newfoundland became a recognized English possession by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

After America was discovered, England, France, and Spain, all began trying to establish a footing there. There might be peace in Europe, but there

was always fighting to be found upon the high seas for the next hundred years. Spain conquered the rich Indian kingdoms of Mexico and Peru in the south. England in the time of James I. planted a colony on the shores of Virginia. Pilgrim Fathers founded the colony of New Plymouth, a little higher up, in 1620 (see p. 50). France went still farther north, and colonized the banks of the River St. Lawrence. The French discoverer, Cartier, thus named the river because he first sailed into it upon St. Lawrence's Day. In 1604 the Sieur de Monts, a gentleman of the court of King Henry IV. of France, founded Port Royal in Acadia, now Nova Scotia, and his lieutenant, Samuel de Champlain, in 1608 set up the Fleur-de-Lys on the rock of Quebec, which for 150 years was the capital of the French empire in North America. The English colonists tried to interfere. A Captain Argall, from Virginia, sacked Port Royal in 1613, and from that time onward there was little peace upon the frontier line. For a waterway inland from the ocean the English had only the Hudson River, which they took from the Dutch in Charles II.'s time (see p. 49).

The French called their settlements along the St. Lawrence Canada, from the Indian word "Kanaka," a group of huts. It was a new France they set up, with the old customs, the old system of land tenure, the old religion. Orchards, farms, and meadows spread along the banks of the great river as along a huge street. Every settler was granted a river frontage, and to this day the ribbon-like farms, often only a few yards wide, wind back to the Laurentian Mountains, fifteen or twenty

miles away. The French colonists were mostly from Normandy and Picardy, many of them descendants of the Norse race, whose rovers had sailed these seas ages before.

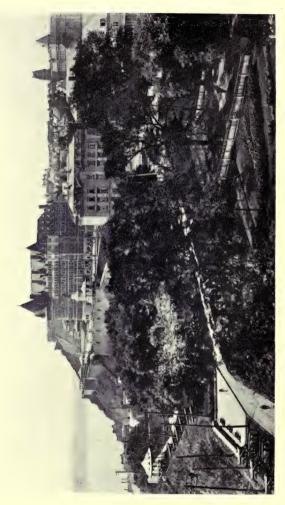
Beyond the settlements lay the great unknown, peopled by wandering Indians with valuable furs to sell. The primeval forest was the home of wild beasts-wolves and bears, deer, foxes and squirrels; great herds of buffalo roamed the plains; the rivers were the haunts of the beaver and otter, and were filled with salmon, trout, and bass. The more adventurous young men yielded to the charm, and wandered off to the backwoods to shoot and hunt. Often they married Indian squaws and became as wild as the Indians themselves. These coureurs de bois and their children—the métis, or "half-breeds" -explored the lands that lay behind, and spread west and south, keeping in touch with the later French settlements and trading-stations along the Ohio and Mississippi; or they wandered north to bargain or fight with the agents of the Hudson Bay Company.

The Roman Catholic Church also sent her settlers and pioneers—priests to work amongst the colonists, and Jesuit missionaries, who travelled from lodge to lodge amongst the Indians, preaching the Christian faith at the risk of their lives, and discovering new districts for French settlement. French monarchs and statesmen cherished the dream of a Roman Catholic New France in America, reaching down to the Spanish possessions in the south, and excluding Protestant Anglo-Saxons from the whole continent, from the frozen lands of Hudson Bay to the fertile territories of New England and Virginia.

This dream was rudely interrupted by the results of wars in Europe. The commercial and religious ambitions of France and Spain conflicted with those of the leading Protestant nations. Quebec had been already captured by the English in 1629, but had been restored to France. The French were further checked by the Dutch and English under William III. (see p. 53); and French and Spanish supremacy in Europe was definitely overthrown in the War of the Spanish Succession. By the Peace of Utrecht, France ceded to Great Britain the province of Acadia, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, called by the British, who had long contested it with the French, Nova Scotia. Great Britain also obtained the huge north-west district drained by rivers flowing into Hudson Bay, where the English Hudson Bay Company already had trading-stations. This left the French with their Canadian settlements along the St. Lawrence River, whence they gradually built a chain of forts and factories along the Ohio and Mississippi, thus securing the two great waterways of North America, uniting Canada with their settlement of Louisiana, on the Gulf of Mexico, and penning in the English colonies between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic.

In 1756 the Great Powers of Europe grouped themselves afresh for the Seven Years' War. From this struggle dates the colonial supremacy of Great Britain. In 1758 "Foul-Weather Jack"—Admiral Boscawen—with General Amherst, captured Louisbourg, the great French fortress and naval station on Cape Breton Island; while Bradstreet took Fort Frontenac, and General Forbes, advancing





QUEBEC.

By courtesy of the Canadian Pacific Railway

inland from Philadelphia, took Fort Du Quesne, the newest and most important French stronghold south of Canada. He renamed it Pittsburg, after the English minister. Thus in one year the command of the Atlantic and of the road to the Great West had been snatched from France. Montcalm, the French commander, had fought hard to defend his trust. There were battles in ships upon the big lakes and battles in the backwoods round the isolated forts and factories. Indians fought with the settlers on both sides, and the warfare was wild and cruel. The English colonists in North America numbered over a million against some 60,000 French. At the beginning of the struggle the latter were more united and more practised in forest fighting; consequently, they were frequently successful. The English colonies were jealous of one another, but their men were stalwart and brave, and they soon learned to act together. Moreover, they received from England the help they needed-regular troops for pitched battles, ships of war to sweep the seas, and generals who could win the confidence of all. Montcalm got little help from France, so hard pressed in Europe, and he was hampered by friction with the governor, Vaudreuil. He was driven back upon Quebec, and in 1759 General Wolfe took the French troops by surprise on the heights above the city, and captured the chief stronghold of France in North America. Both Wolfe and Montcalm were mortally wounded in the battle. On the Abraham Heights one monument commemorates the glory of both, the brave enemies who thus died in the same action, each fighting to the last for his

country.

With the fall of Quebec the fabric of French rule in North America collapsed, though Montreal did not capitulate until the following year. The Treaty of Paris, in 1763, gave Canada, Cape Breton, and the other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and all the vast territory between the Mississippi and the Atlantic, to Great Britain. France retained only the two little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off Newfoundland, as a refuge for her fishermen; and she had by a secret treaty already handed Louisiana over to Spain. The British government allowed those Canadians who so chose to return to France with their possessions. The majority, however, preferred to become British subjects. Thus Canada became a permanent part of the British Empire, and, after the separation of the United States, the centre of that Empire in North America.

# CHAPTER III

### EARLY DAYS OF THE CANADIAN COLONIES

Treatment of the French colonists—Arrival of new settlers—Claim for self-government—War with America—Discontent—The land question—Lord Durham—The Act of Union of the Canadas—Dissensions and politics of the two Canadas—Danger from the United States—Creation of the Dominion of Canada.

Amongst the colonists of Anglo-Saxon descent the French Canadians stood apart in customs, race, and religion. Murray, an able general and a sensible

administrator, was left after the war as governor of Canada, and he was allowed by the Home government to pursue a liberal policy towards the inhabitants, which was followed up by his successor, Sir Guy Carleton. In 1774 the British parliament passed the Quebec Act, which the French Canadians regard as their Great Charter. It made the old French civil law the basis of their code, secured them the right to worship according to the Roman Catholic faith, which was recognized as the established church, and allowed them to continue the old French system of land tenure. By this seigniorial system the seigniors held land and granted it out to habitants—dwellers on the soil—who farmed it for their own benefit, paying dues to their lords and living under their protection as in feudal times. Religious intolerance had not yet passed away in Europe, and the seigniorial land system did not suit the English ideas of the eighteenth century; therefore the Quebec Act was a courageous piece of liberal statesmanship on the part of the British government.

The results were seen when the American War of Independence broke out (see pp. 60-65). The revolting English colonists would have welcomed the French Canadians with open arms, but the latter feared that the sturdy Protestants of New England would not grant them the religious and civil freedom which they enjoyed under British rule. When, finally, the British were defeated, the colonists in the United States who had supported the British cause refused to submit to the Republican government, and migrated to the banks of the St. Lawrence, Nova Scotia, and Upper Canada, where they were

known as the United Empire Loyalists, and received grants of money and land from the British government (see p. 64).

These new settlers brought with them enough of the spirit which had led to the revolt of the United States to insist on the right of colonists to manage their own local affairs. In 1791 the Constitutional Act was passed, dividing Canada into an Upper and a Lower Province, each with an elected Assembly, as well as a permanent Legislative Council, whose members were nominated for life. Upper Canada, where the settlers were mostly British, was placed under British civil law. The criminal law was British for both provinces, with trial by jury. Lower Canada consisted principally of the old French settlements, where the people looked with suspicion on the new representative assembly as "une machine anglaise bour nous taxer." The English settlers realized that they would be taxed anyhow, and preferred to have a chance of expressing their opinions on the subject.

In 1812, during the great European conflict with Napoleon, war broke out between the United States and Great Britain, the result of ill-feeling about contraband of war and the searching of American ships for deserters. England was then up to the hilt in the struggle with France, and had few troops or ships to spare for the American War. At first the United States were successful at sea in a series of frigate actions, but the next year the British navy turned upon them and swept their commerce from the ocean.

The land struggle took place principally on the Canadian frontier. The Americans had hoped to rouse the Canadians to revolt, but failed completely. The fighting was carried on with varying results by regular and irregular troops; Kentucky riflemen and Canadian voltigeurs showed their old-time skill in wood-fighting. The Indians also took part, as they had in the old Anglo-French Wars. The great chief Tecumseh died fighting rather than retreat further, after upbraiding Proctor, the English General, as a "fat dog with his tail between his legs," for retiring at all. A series of pitched battles was fought in the endeavour to drive back the American forces, who had invaded Canada, sacked York, the capital of Upper Canada, and destroyed the British fleet on Lake Erie.

The capture of Napoleon and his exile to Elba set free more British troops to join in the conflict. But after the British had sacked Washington and failed at Plattsburg, both sides were sick of the war, and the Peace of Ghent (December 24, 1814) put an end to a futile conflict, in which neither side gained anything but ill-feeling. The only good result was that Canadians of different races had been brought together in one common national cause.

During the next twenty years the two Canadian provinces became exceedingly discontented. In both the cause of trouble was the want of sympathy between the Legislative Council and the popular elected Assembly. In French Lower Canada the Council consisted almost entirely of Englishmen, and the French Assembly found itself treated with scant courtesy. The Governor and Council refused to agree to laws passed by the Assembly, and the Assembly refused to grant money for

expenditure suggested by the Council and the Governor. In British Upper Canada the leading men of the Council were descendants of the United Empire Loyalists, who formed so exclusive a set that they were known as the "Family Compact." All the most important and lucrative posts in the Administration were filled by their relatives and dependents.

The practical grievance in Upper Canada was the land question. By the Constitutional Act of 1791, whenever Crown lands were granted a portion equal to one-seventh of the grant was set aside for the support of the Protestant clergy. As these "clergy reserves" increased, the clergy failed to farm the land themselves or to let it to others, and thereby hindered the development of the country. The "Family Compact" also granted to themselves and their supporters such large tracts that they became "land poor"—that is, lacked capital to develop land—another check to national progress. So serious did the discontent become that the very existence of British rule in Canada was threatened. In 1837-1838 there were two open rebellions: Papineau's, among the French in Lower Canada, and Mackenzie's, among the British in Upper Canada. Both were unsuccessful, and the leaders fled to the United States

Canada's boundless resources were running to waste through the hatreds of its people, their lack of enterprise, and their hopelessness. New settlers were not being assisted and the country was not being opened up. The rebellions of Papineau and Mackenzie impressed on the Home government the

absolute necessity of bestirring itself if the Canadas were not to revolt and join the United States.

In 1838 the Earl of Durham was sent out as High Commissioner to investigate the state of the Canadas. He reported that in Lower Canada he found two races warring against each other, and in Upper Canada the "Family Compact" ruling for their own profit. He proposed two remedies. The first was the legislative union of the two Canadas under one parliament. He hoped this would tend to absorb the distinct French element into the English element, and form one Canadian nation. Secondly, he proposed that the Canadian ministers should be responsible directly to the Canadian parliament, and hold office only so long as they had the confidence of a majority therein.

Governor Poulett Thomson (Lord Sydenham) persuaded both provinces to agree to this, and the Act of Union was passed in 1840. He also organized a scheme of local government, which enabled the various parts of each province to manage their own local affairs. But it took newly-united Canada some time to settle down. Responsible government was made difficult by two obstacles: first, the British majority split into three sections; and secondly, there was an idea that the government ought to be supported not merely by a majority of the whole province, but by a majority from each of its two parts, the British and the French. It was Lord Elgin who, as Governor, first carried Lord Durham's second recommendation into practice by acknowledging that in all matters concerning Canada alone he would be responsible solely to his Canadian

advisers, though he retained the right to veto or to refer to the Colonial Office any measures which he considered opposed to the interests of the Empire as a whole. Responsible government thus became a recognized fact in 1848.

The next question was a commercial one. The Navigation Acts (see pp. 48, 88) had obliged Canada to send her main products to the Mother Country; in return she had been allowed to import her goods into Britain on payment of a smaller duty than was paid by other nations. But in 1846 the English Corn Laws were repealed, though in 1843 the preference on Canadian wheat had been largely increased, and, consequently, more flour-mills had been built in Canada. The preference on which the Canadian millers and corn-growers had relied, was thus withdrawn in Britain, while the Navigation Laws continued to hamper Canadian trade elsewhere. In 1849 many of the chief men in Montreal signed a manifesto urging annexation to the United States as the sole remedy for these evils. Lord Elgin found a better cure. He got the Navigation Acts repealed, and Canada was allowed to trade with all the world. Furthermore, in 1854 he made a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, whereby the farmers, lumbermen, miners, and fishermen of each nation could trade freely with each other.

In 1854 John Macdonald, the leader of the Conservatives in the Canadian Parliament, formed an alliance with Cartier, leader of the French party. The coalition obtained for a time a working majority, but ministries were short-lived until the formation of the Confederation. Many reforms were

forced upon the Conservatives by the "Clear Grits," under the leadership of George Brown. In 1854 the clergy reserves were secularized and their proceeds given to the municipalities. The clergy offered little opposition; they were public-spirited enough to see that the good of the country demanded the sacrifice, and they made it willingly. The same year the seigniorial system was abolished in Lower Canada, and the seigniors compensated. The old French system of land tenure had become inconvenient as land came more and more into the market, and young settlers found themselves heavily hampered by the payment of dues to the lord every time land changed hands.

The next burning question was the proportionate representation of the two provinces. When the Canadas were united in 1840 the same number of members had been allotted to each province, though Lower Canada had the larger population; but by 1861 the Upper Province had nearly 300,000 more inhabitants than the Lower, and the "Clear Grits," or Radicals, voicing the demands of Upper Canada, claimed that each province should be represented in proportion to its present population. At this the Conservatives and French Canadian majority only smiled, now that "the boot was on the other leg," and Cartier said that the excess population in Upper Canada had no more right to be counted than the codfish in the Bay of Gaspé. But even the Conservatives from Upper Canada began to favour some change and the agitation grew. Neither party in the House could get enough support at a general election to hold power for more than a

few months, and finally the three leaders resolved to sink party differences and coalesce to bring about a union between Canada and certain other provinces of British North America. These were Newfoundland and the Atlantic provinces of Prince Edward Isle, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. The two latter had been the old French Acadia. Nova Scotia had received a constitution and responsible government in 1848, after a prolonged struggle with its local "Family Compact." New Brunswick, which had been separated from Nova Scotia in 1784, had also obtained responsible government in 1848. The rival Canadian political parties and the British government were alike strongly influenced in hastening on the consolidation of British North America by the danger of an invasion of Canada by the United States, which from 1860 to 1865 were involved in civil war. In fact, some disbanded Irish soldiers from the United States army had actually crossed the frontier. Moreover, the United States had given up the Reciprocity Treaty of Lord Elgin, and the Canadians needed other markets for their produce, a problem which touched the pocket of every farmer and trader.

By means of the Quebec conference, Canada and the Atlantic provinces came to terms, though Prince Edward Island refused, for the time, to support its delegates (see p. 147). Newfoundland decided not to join the confederation. The British parliament passed the British North America Act, and the Dominion of Canada came into being on July 1, 1867, a day which has ever since been kept as a public holiday. The provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were henceforth called Ontario and Quebec.

## CHAPTER IV

# EXPANSION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT (1867-1907)

Federation and expansion—The North-West territories—Hudson Bay Company—Riel's first rising—Manitoba—British Columbia—Rush for gold—Railways—Riel's second rising—Modern politics.

In 1867, though federation was an accomplished fact, Canada was still disunited and incomplete. The Dominion of Canada, when first constituted, contained much less than a third of British North America, and her provinces were still mutually distrustful and jealous of one another. During the last thirty years she has absorbed the whole of British North America except Newfoundland and its dependency upon the coast of Labrador, and has developed a passionate spirit of nationality.

She first turned her attention to the vast unexplored expanses of country to the north and west—the territories of the Hudson Bay Company. Since 1820 these had included the gigantic nominal possessions of the North-West Trading Company, extending to the Rockies and the Arctic Ocean. But a government with the wealth and power of the new Dominion was able to do what had lain beyond the capacities of any single province. In 1870 it bought out the Hudson Bay Company, which only retained trading rights. Unfortunately, the Canadian government and its surveyors showed great want of consideration to the settlers in its new

territories, especially the half-breeds, or *métis* (see p. 133). They became alarmed for the security of their holdings, and, under the leadership of Louis Riel, refused to acknowledge the authority of Canada. A British military expedition, commanded by Sir Garnet (now Lord) Wolseley, dispersed the insurgents, and Riel fled to the United States. The southern portion of the territory thus acquired proved of wondrous fertility; out of it have been carved Manitoba (1870) and Saskatchewan and Alberta (1905), the provinces of the Great West, the "granary of the Empire."

The Crown colony of British Columbia was incorporated into the Dominion of Canada in 1871. The north-west coast of America had been discovered by Spanish mariners at the end of the sixteenth century; a hundred years later English and Spanish traders agreed that all the unoccupied territory on the Pacific Coast was to be free to settlers of both nations. About the same time a European contrived to cross the Rocky Mountains, one Alexander Mackenzie, who recounts how he took a large quantity of raw vermilion, mixed it with grease, and smeared in great letters on a cliff facing the ocean, "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada by land, July 22, 1793."

When the boundary of the United States and Canada was settled by treaty in 1818, no mention was made of the frontier west of the Rocky Mountains. Great Britain claimed all the coast from Russian Alaska to the River Columbia, while the United States claimed the whole shore up to the Russian frontier, on parallel 54° 40", and the





SIR JOHN MACDONALD.

By the courtesy of the "Canadian Mail."

To face page 147.

States rang with the cry, "Fifty-four forty or fight!" In 1846 the boundary line was settled, by agreement, along the forty-ninth parallel, as on the other side of the Rocky Mountains.

In 1856 gold was discovered in the sands of the Rivers Fraser and Thompson, and crowds of prospectors swarmed to the colony. In consequence, the mainland, with its gold districts, was separated from the original settlement on Vancouver Island, and made into the Province of British Columbia. In 1866, however, the whole territory west of the Rockies was incorporated under the name of British Columbia, with Victoria, on Vancouver Island, as its capital. Five years later British Columbia became part of the Dominion of Canada. In 1873 Prince Edward Island, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, followed its example (see p. 144).

The Dominion now extended over the whole of Northern America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the next task of the Government was to consider the links that should bind it together—the railways. Since 1851 the building and management of railways had always been a political question.

Railways can be built by private companies, by the State, or by companies supported by the State. The Conservatives, led by Sir John Macdonald, had consistently supported the first or third methods, the Liberals the second. The main requirement of the Dominion as a whole was a great line stretching from east to west, which should bring the produce of the west to the populous districts and the harbours of the east.

An undertaking by the Dominion to construct a railway to the Pacific within ten years had been one of the main inducements which led British Columbia to enter the Federation: but it was difficult at that time to find capital for so gigantic and speculative a proposal, and it was decided to entrust the project to private capitalists. But when it became known that one of the projected companies had subscribed large sums to the funds of the Conservative party, Macdonald was forced to resign, in 1873, and Mackenzie, the Liberal leader, reverted to the original plan of State construction. But times were bad throughout the American continent; everywhere people were dissatisfied, and in 1878 Macdonald came back to power on the wave of general discontent, and resumed the Conservative railway policy. In 1881 the Canadian Pacific Company was formed, to complete the great task of establishing a line of communication between the Pacific and the Atlantic. The Canadian government gave them 25,000,000 dollars, 20,000,000 acres of land, and the completed sections of the State-constructed railway, worth another 30,000,000 dollars. Even this was not enough, and more than once further aid became necessary. Some of the ministry wished to throw up the project. Finally, all obstacles were conquered, and on the Selkirk Mountains, November 5, 1885, the last spike of the transcontinental railway was driven in by Sir Donald Smith, now Lord Strathcona.

The government was now confronted by a serious difficulty of another nature. As the number of new settlers in the North-West increased, and the

Administration still delayed to confirm the titles of the old half-breed farmers to their holdings, they became exasperated beyond endurance, and summoned Louis Riel to lead them once more to battle. For a moment there seemed a danger that the braves of the 35,000 Indians scattered throughout Manitoba would join the rebellion—a few took the warpath and massacred some whites-but the insurrection was speedily crushed by the Canadian Volunteers, and Riel was hanged, with eight Indians implicated in the massacre.

The Liberal party now began to advocate a renewal of reciprocity in trade between Canada and the United States, which the Conservative government denounced as veiled treason to Great Britain, and at the general election of 1891 Sir John Macdonald won his final triumph with the war-cry, "The old flag, the old leader, the old policy." He died the same year, and the Conservative party, which had been in office since 1878, fell to pieces. When the Liberals came into power in 1896, led by Mr. (now Sir) Wilfrid Laurier, they had already dropped the policy of commercial alliance with the United States. They now boldly ventured to realize Sir John Macdonald's dream, and to give trade preference to the Mother Country. In Canadian politics the Conservatives have always voiced the demands of the manufacturers and private enterprise, but of late years since they have been in opposition, they have shown some leaning towards the state-ownership of monopolies, and other ideas associated with the Labour parties of Australasia (see pp. 183-187). Meanwhile, the Liberals, who are

still (1911) in office, are the defenders of things as they are, but are contemplating a fresh Reciprocity Treaty with the United States.

# CHAPTER V

### CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

General scheme of government—Relations between central and local bodies—The Governor-General—The Senate—The House of Commons—Abuses in politics—The judicial system.

THE Dominion of Canada is a federation of provinces. The government is much decentralized. In Ontario every town of 2,000 inhabitants has its own local authority; each county has its county council and is divided into townships, with their own reeve and councillors; every city of 10,000 inhabitants has its mayor and aldermen. Each province has a Lieutenant-Governor as a figure-head, and manages its own affairs by means of an elected Assembly. In Quebec and Nova Scotia alone does the old Legislative Council also exist.

The Central Government of the Dominion consists of the Governor-General, the Senate, and the House of Commons. Naturally, there have been many disagreements between the provinces and the Dominion as to the extent of their several powers. Such cases, as they arise, are referred to the Supreme Court of Canada, with appeal to the Judicial Committee of the King's Privy Council in London.

The Dominion has been given control over the

postal system, national defence, external and internal commerce, criminal law, the coinage, and other matters of national concern; while each province retains the management of its own education, civil law, prisons, hospitals, public works, and other such affairs as immediately concern itself. Each body raises the money it needs by some form of taxation. Only the Dominion can impose import or export duties. Thus Free Trade is secured within the country. The provinces obtain supplies as a rule in three ways: (1) Grants from the Dominion government, in accordance with the British North America Act, by which all these matters were originally settled; (2) money from the sale of licences, mainly for liquor traffic; (3) money from the disposal of Crown lands. The Dominion or the provinces own all the land which has not yet been taken up by farmers and others; therefore, when new settlers want this land, the State can sell or let it, and the price or rent helps to pay the expenses of government.

The various components of the Dominion government are appointed as follows: The Governor-General is appointed in England by the Crown. His power is in theory very limited; in practice, a man with tact and brains can have immense influence. The members of Senate are appointed for life by the Governor in Council—that is, by the Governor on the advice of the Prime Minister—a fixed proportion of the senators representing each province. The Senate is supposed to act as a revising chamber, and to secure the country by wise amendments from the effects of hasty and ill-considered action on the part of a House elected

by the people. As a matter of fact, the Senate has done little; those who are appointed by a Conservative minister vote Conservative, those appointed by a Liberal minister vote Liberal. Each party seizes the opportunity to fill up the Senate with devoted and unquestioning adherents.

The House of Commons is elected every four or five years. Practically every male of twenty years and upwards has a vote. The members are paid. In both Houses English or French may be used, and State papers are printed in both languages. Each party is under the stringent control of its leader; consequently, the Premier, the leader of the majority, can take office with the knowledge that he will probably remain there for a lengthy period, certain to be supported through thick and thin by his followers, who wish to run no risks of losing their seats and their salaries. Moreover, the Ministry has the disposal of many valuable posts, and used to reward its supporters by giving them these positions.

Nothing is more fatal to political life than this system of "boodle." When once the idea has taken root that politics is a profitable profession, to be pursued without reference to the good of the country, corruption will creep into every department of Administration, and the people will continually pay heavily for inefficient work. When a works department, for instance, gives contracts to inferior manufacturers on account of their political principles or their payments to party funds, every inhabitant of the country is fleeced thereby. When a railway is diverted from the best route for the sake of votecatching, or its officials appointed regardless of

incapacity because they are friends or relatives of important politicians, the transport service of the whole district suffers. Canada has been by no means free from this taint of public corruption. However, in 1908 the appointment of public officials was put, as in England, into the hands of a Civil Service Commission, who, by means of examinations, select for merit alone. If the standard of public opinion also rises, so that men suspected of corrupt practices are despised by their acquaintance as well as deprived of political power, this disgrace will shortly be removed.

Happily, the administration of justice is above suspicion. Judges are appointed for life, and are not afraid to give an unpopular verdict. The reputation of the Bench and Bar stands as high as any in the world. Each province has its own system of civil law. Criminal law is the same throughout the Dominion.

## CHAPTER VI

CANADA TO-DAY: HER RESOURCES AND IDEALS

Agricultural wealth—Government help—Development of the West—Furs—Timber—Fisheries—Minerals—Manufactures—Peculiar importance of the transport problem—Water—Railways—Population—The Canadian spirit—Protection—National defence.

CANADA has often been called the granary of the Empire, but she is far more than that: she has boundless resources, including every form of natural wealth. In the older provinces five-sixths of the

farmers cultivate their own fields. Their ancestors lived each family on its own homestead, growing all the food they required, producing the material for their clothes, and buying but little in exchange for surplus produce. The old life is passing away, and small farming is becoming more scientific. Government farms have been set up to instruct the people in new methods. Co-operative dairies make it possible to produce cheaper and better butter for sale and export; fruit is canned in co-operative factories. The result of these improved methods is that Ontario, though she has scarcely increased her population since 1871, has doubled her agricultural produce and more than doubled its value. still retains her reputation for breeding horses, cattle, and sheep.

It is the newer provinces that are now pouring their wheat into the markets of Europe. Up to 1885 the scattered settlers in the great central plains could not get a market for their produce, and were almost in despair. With the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway prosperity came with a rush. Now, where forty years ago the buffalo grazed, where fifteen years ago only a few cowboys "rounded up their cattle," fields of waving wheat stretch to the horizon. The value of wheat despatched to Great Britain in 1909 was £8,800,000. In 1906 the number of immigrants into the West was 189,064, of whom 86,796 were from the British Isles; between 1901 and 1906 the population of Manitoba and the two prairie provinces increased from 419,512 to 808,863. Nearly all these are engaged in the cultivation of wheat and the allied industries.

In old times furs were the important article of export. Trappers and Indians lived to hunt the bear and the buffalo, the marten, the silver fox, the beaver. French and English fought and died from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains to control the fur trade. To-day the farmer has pushed the trapper further and further afield, and the buffalo no longer roams the plains in huge herds. In 1904 the furs exported from Canada were valued at only 2,000,000 dollars, and they were mostly collected by the Indians of the Far North.

Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia still have vast forests, though miles of timber have been swept away by fires and miles more wasted by careless clearing. The trees are felled in the winter, and hauled to the brink of the nearest river, down which they are carried by the spring freshets; the logs are then gathered and made into rafts, which are floated or towed to a port on the St. Lawrence. In the old days most of this "lumber" was sent as squared timber into Great Britain, and many were the fortunes thus made. But now nearly all is sawn in Canadian sawmills into deals or laths, and so more men are employed in the country. Canada now makes an increasing amount of furniture for herself. Spruce and poplar supply pulp for paper-making, and are becoming as valuable as the pine and fir have always been. In 1901 the value of the timber known to have been cut was over £10,000,000. No wonder that the government is taking steps to stop needless destruction and encourage reafforestation.

The fishing-banks of Newfoundland have been

famous since the days of the "Fishing Admirals" (see p. 131). The ovster-beds of Prince Edward Isle are well known. Lobster-canning is an important industry in all the Atlantic provinces, but the whale fishery is extinct. All the lakes and rivers contain salmon, trout, bass, and other fish beloved by the sportsman; on the west coast the rivers running into the sea provide salmon, which is tinned in large quantities. Vessels leave British Columbia for the northern seal-fishery, the scene of so many disputes with the United States, who have claimed the Behring Sea as their private property, technically as a mare clausum. In 1800 they began to seize Canadian sealers, but the matter was referred to arbiters, and in 1807 Canada was awarded 464,000 dollars as compensation.

Coal has been found on Cape Breton Island from early times. The coal was formerly worked, sometimes by the government, sometimes by private individuals paying a heavy royalty. In 1827 the mines of both Cape Breton and Nova Scotia were handed over by the Crown to the Duke of York, and transferred by that royal spendthrift to his creditors, who held all the coal-fields till 1857, when those which were not working were leased to other companies. The output of coal in Nova Scotia in 1905 amounted to over 5,000,000 tons. In British Columbia coal has been worked since 1850, when an Indian chief arrived at Victoria with his canoe full of coal, taken from the spot where the city of Nanaino now stands. Coal is also extracted in the Rocky Mountains, and good seams of anthracite are reported to exist there.

Iron is produced in small quantities. The Dominion government is offering bounties to encourage this industry. Gold is found in all the provinces, especially in Nova Scotia and British Columbia. In 1897 the Yukon region in the far north-west was reported "full of gold," and the usual rush resulted, despite the difficulties of transit and food-supply. The output of this district is now declining. Practically all known minerals are to be found in Canada. The finest nickel-mines in the world are around Sudbury, in the Rocky Mountains, and petroleum wells have been discovered near Sarnia, in Ontario. The province of Ontario is retaining control of its cobalt-mining lands.

This rapid survey suffices to show how great and how varied are the resources of Canada. At present she is mainly agricultural. Her manufactures do not even supply all home demands, though they do far more in that direction than the outside world imagines. Of the 6,000,000 dollars' worth of manufactured goods consumed yearly, about five-sixths are made in the country. Agricultural implements, steel rails, machinery, cutlery, and other goods made of iron and steel, are still imported, principally from the United States. The main Canadian manufacturing centres are Toronto and Montreal.

The trade of a country is conditioned largely by its means of transport. Canada is provided by Nature with a network of rivers and lakes; but waterfalls, rapids, and shallows necessitate unshipment and reshipment, and this is a most expensive operation. Between Lake Superior and the St. Lawrence there is a difference of 600 feet in the

level of the water. These difficulties have been overcome, at enormous expense, by a system of canals—the Lachine round the Lachine Rapids, above Montreal, the Welland behind the Niagara Falls, and the Sault St. Marie (the "Soo") between Lakes Superior and Huron. Similarly the Rideau system has been engineered, connecting Kingston and Ottawa, a back-door route westwards, which avoids American territory altogether. Ottawa and Montreal are connected in the same way, and the system is extended by the canals on the Richelieu, which enable the logs of the Upper Ottawa to be sent by water to Lake Champlain, and thence to New York.

Water transport has been calculated to cost only one-tenth of the price of railway transport, but against the merit of the cheapness of the water routes must be set the question of speed. Between the head of Lake Superior and Ottawa lie 1,499 miles of waterway, while the farmer wants his wheat to reach England the same year that it is grown. A canal through the Trent Valley from Georgia Bay to Lake Ontario would effect an enormous saving of time, and the work of construction has accordingly begun. At present grain is often taken to Georgia Bay ports by water, and thence by rail to Montreal.

So rapid and convenient are railways that every country, as soon as it can find the capital, has been anxious to make them. Canada in 1851 passed Acts of Parliament authorizing the construction of three great systems. Since then the government has constructed, or assisted private companies to construct, other lines, which are likely to open up

new districts, to provide new markets, and link together existing centres. Electric trams and light railways are a striking feature of Canadian life. In Ontario they are managed by the province, which is also building a provincial railway line. Most of the great railways run from east to west-a fact which shows that the bulk of trade travels in those directions. A series of protective measures on the part of the government of the United States since reciprocity with the Dominion ceased to exist (1866) has tended to shut Canadian produce out of American markets. In consequence, the need of rapid, frequent, and regular transport to other markets has been more and more felt. On the west, the Canadian Pacific Railway has, since 1889, run boats across the Pacific from Vancouver to Yokohama, opening out Japan and China to the Canadian trader and farmer. Now that Asia is awakening, the importance of this market is incalculable. In the east the ocean routes are different in summer and winter. When the ice does not block the channel, the shorter passage is taken through the Straits of Belle Isle, up the St. Lawrence, to Montreal and Quebec. In winter, from October to June, ships cannot enter the St. Lawrence, and are obliged to stop at Halifax in Nova Scotia, or St. John in Newfoundland, passing through the Cabot Straits. The first line of steamers across the Atlantic was started by Samuel Cunard, of Halifax, in 1840; it was followed in 1856 by the Allan Line, and in 1901 by the steamers of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

The route to Halifax from Europe is nearly 1,000 miles shorter than that from Europe to New York.

As the Canadian railways improve, much of the traffic which now goes to the American ports may be attracted farther north, and Canada may proportionately increase her carrying trade.

We have seen that the present population of the Dominion of Canada has been drawn from many different sources. The French of the province of Quebec, the old Lower Canada, now number 2.000,000. They retain the Roman Catholic faith and their own language, laws, and customs. The old hostility between them and Canadians of British descent is passing away. Though there seems no prospect of the complete fusion of the two races, their common national feeling is manifested by the long and successful tenure of office of a French Canadian as Premier of the Dominion, in the person of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Great Britain has sent a steady stream of immigrants. Colonists from Scotland gave its name to Nova Scotia, and bands of Highland crofters are settled there and in other provinces (see p. 68). Many of Canada's eminent public men have been of Scottish descent. Irish immigrants have usually preferred the United States. In recent times American farmers have been attracted to the fertile corn-lands of the west and centre. Farming new-comers are welcomed, and land is freely granted to any man who is prepared to clear 100 acres, build a log-hut and big barns, and set to work to win from nature a home and support for his children. British Columbia has unwillingly been obliged to receive Japanese, the Dominion government having twice refused to sanction her immigration laws forbidding them to settle in the province. A few Eskimos still wander in the frozen north, but the Red Indians, their ancient foes and conquerors, are settled in reserves left wild for them; there they receive grants of food and clothing from the Dominion government. For some time efforts have been made to educate them and fit them for life under more civilized conditions.

With her rapid development a strong national spirit has grown up in Canada. She feels herself a great people, charged with the responsibility of her own future. Yet her national life is permeated with an abiding sense of loyalty to the British Empire, of which she has so long formed a part, inheriting its traditions of great deeds and large ideals. Canada, as elsewhere, there is a party which holds that if Britain returned to a Protection policy and granted Preference to her colonies, the bond thus created would knit the Empire together. But Canada fought for the Empire in 1812, when she had Preference, and in 1901, when she had no Preference, and her loyalty has deeper foundations than any possible commercial advantage. Separation from Great Britain would leave her alone, face to face with her only neighbour, the United States, with the alternative of close union or deadly enmity. She desires neither. French Canadians have always dreaded the rigid constitution of the United States, which permits the establishment of no religion and allows no official language but English: the descendants of the United Empire Loyalists, still true to their name, retain a traditional dislike of the country whose dust their fathers shook from their feet. The great mass of more recent settlers are of British

stock. Canada has therefore a strong inclination to remain within the British Empire so long as that Empire moulds its future in the direction of a permanent alliance of free federated States, and her security demands that she should do so. She is accordingly taking active share in providing for Imperial defence. She is beginning to create a navy; she has undertaken the upkeep of the great fortresses of Halifax and Esquimault; and her army, commanded by Canadian officers, is now to be made homogeneous with the troops of the Empire throughout the world.

### CHAPTER VII

#### NEWFOUNDLAND

Acquired by Great Britain—French and English sailors—American fishing disputes—Self-government—The great crisis—Trade and resources to-day—Imperial defence.

In 1713 (see p. 53) Newfoundland was definitely acknowledged as a British possession. A civil Governor was appointed in 1727, and had rough times with the "Fishing Admirals," with the Devonshire merchants who sent out cod-fishing fleets, and with the French fishermen (see pp. 131, 156). The fishing industry had grown to a considerable size. In the reign of William III. 300 English ships, with 15,000 sailors, annually visited the Banks, and from France no fewer than 400 ships and 18,000 sailors.

The French considered this fishery of immense importance as a nursery for seamen, who would

be wanted for the fleet in time of war. They removed all their settlers after the Peace of Utrecht, but kept the right to land and dry their catches of fish. By the Peace of Paris, 1763, they retained the two small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon as a shelter for their smacks. Twenty years later they received further rights of landing on the coast of Newfoundland itself. This they took to mean that no one else had the right to land in that district. and when Newfoundland lobster-canners endeavoured to set up factories later, the French drove them out, with British help. The French islands were also admirable smuggling centres for French brandy and lace. The British government took a hundred years to realize the impossibility of the situation, but eventually, in 1904, got rid of all these French rights in exchange for territory in West Africa (see p. 298), and Newfoundland was left in undisturbed possession of her own soil.

The fisheries, however, still remained a burning international question. By the Convention of 1818 (p. 146) Great Britain had granted to the United States certain rights of fishing off the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador. Disputes continued for nearly a century as to the precise extent of these rights. The matter was finally referred to the Hague Tribunal for arbitration, and was settled in September, 1910, largely in favour of Great Britain. Newfoundland has thus gained control over her most important industry. The inland boundaries of her dependency along the coast of Labrador are still a matter of negotiation between her and the Dominion of Canada.

# 164 THE DOMINION OF CANADA

Newfoundland has passed through the ordinary stages of a colony which has achieved self-government. A Legislative Assembly was granted in 1832, which, of course, had no control over the ministry; in fact, it quarrelled with it so fiercely that the constitution was suspended until 1841. Full responsible government was reached in 1855. When federation with Canada was proposed, in 1868, the idea was rejected by the electorate, who have held the same point of view whenever the subject has since been broached.

Besides her fishing industry, including sealing and lobster-canning, the country contains iron and copper, and forests. The minerals are at present largely undeveloped, but the lumber, which is not very suitable for building, affords admirable raw material for paper-making, and large factories are springing up. The capital, St. John's, possesses a fine harbour, long used as a naval base for a British squadron. The colony contributes to Imperial defence by a contingent in the Naval Reserve.

# II

# THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

# CHAPTER I

#### PHYSICAL FEATURES

Size—Winds and rainfall—Distribution of rain and vegetation — Strange beasts — Natural advantages — The position of the towns.

The island of Australia is so large that it is often called a continent. It extends 2,400 miles from west to east, and nearly 2,000 miles from north to south, and its area is over 2,900,000 square miles. The area of the island of Tasmania is only 26,000 square miles. The Commonwealth of Australia is thus a little smaller than the Dominion of Canada.

Roughly speaking, a fringe of fertile land lies all round the coast of Australia, bounded by steep highlands, which descend slowly to great central plains. Hence many of the rivers, like the Murray and the Darling, rise near the sea on one side of the continent, and flow inland for hundreds of miles before reaching the ocean on another side; others are intermittent, and disappear into the sand; others run into low-lying lakes, from which the water sinks away into the ground.

# 166 THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

The Great Barrier Reef, made of coral, lies along the north-east coast of Australia, at a distance which varies from 25 to 150 miles. It is difficult to cross except by the openings opposite the great rivers, and forms a natural breakwater along the coast of Queensland.

The prosperity of Australia, even the possibility of colonizing there at all, is closely connected with peculiar variations in the rainfall. The continent lies almost entirely within the belt of the southeast trade-winds and calms of the horse-latitudes. It is the south alone which receives the winter rains, and there the climate is like that of the Mediterranean. On the east coast the south-east tradewinds predominate, and, owing to the height of the eastern highlands (3,000 to 6,000 feet), the clouds may be caught, and may deposit rain at all seasons; but the rainfall is slight in the winter and heaviest in the summer months, when the heat of the land causes the air above it to rise. From the central plains to the heights of the western margin rain is rare. On the west coast the north-west stormy winter rains extend almost to the district swept by the north-west monsoon in summer. Hence the margins of Australia are fairly well watered, except the middle of the west coast and the middle of the south coast. where the Great Bight curves northwards. No use can be made of land where the rainfall averages less than 5 inches in the year; indeed, the limit is 10 inches in most situations. Where the rainfall is between 10 and 20 inches, sheep do well; where it is over 12 inches wheat grows; where it is over 30 inches maize grows; and where it is more than

40 inches sugar grows. It is to be always borne in mind that the heat, which is very great towards the Equator, or in the centre of large tracts of land, diminishes as we go farther south or towards the sea in any direction.

In the hot, arid, central plains the ground is covered with acacia or gum scrub. On the rolling slopes of the eastern mountains there is grassland admirable for the raising of sheep, cattle, or horses. Under the shelter of the steeper slopes that face the sea, sugar plantations in the north are succeeded towards the south by coffee, maize, vineyards, wheat, and orchards as the climate becomes Mediterranean rather than tropical.

Forests require an abundant supply of moisture. In West Australia, in the region of winter rains, there are giant hardwood eucalyptus trees of great commercial value. New South Wales has its forests of blue and other gums, and the rainy south-east is also a wooded district. Far in the north there are dense tropical forests, where tree-ferns rise to a height of a hundred feet, and strange orchids and hanging creepers form the undergrowth. In more temperate lands we seem to get back from Africa into Europe, but everywhere the presence of strange animals like the kangaroo and the wallaby remind us that Australia is the opposite, the antipodes of the Old World.

It is a country offering great advantages to the colonist—magnificent harbours, choice of climate, fertile land close to the sea, a fair supply of water near the coast, and few dangerous animals. The highlands, by their peculiar formation, offer great

# 168 THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

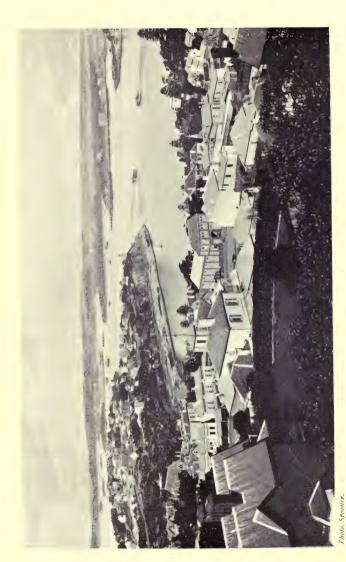
difficulties to a traveller or explorer; but to the earliest settlers that was no disadvantage. The towns are where they are for three reasons—as ports. or mining, or farming centres. The capitals of the Australian States-Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, and Hobart-are all ports, but they were fixed upon as settlements in the days of smaller ships, and most of them were placed some miles up sandy rivers; the modern liner cannot reach them except by specially dredged channels, expensive to construct and to keep open. Sydney and Hobart are exceptions; they are situated upon magnificent harbours, of which there are many around the continent. Of the mining towns, some, like Ballarat and Coolgardie, owe their existence to gold; others, like Broken Hill, to silver. The farming towns require (I) permanent water, (2) land above flood level, (3) a specially rich or open area of tillable land. Bathurst, in New South Wales, is a good example of such a town.

# CHAPTER II

#### EARLY DAYS

The "Blackfellows"—Early discoveries—The Portuguese
—The Dutch—Captain Cook—The convict settlements
—Extension of New South Wales—Exploration—
West and South Australia—Victoria—Immigration—
The land question.

THE first settlers seem to have adapted themselves admirably to their surroundings. They were the



SYDNEY HARBOUR NEW SOUTH WALES.



"Blackfellows," really chocolate-brown, a cross between the frizzy-haired black Dravidian (see p. 250) and his conqueror, the yellow Malayan. They arrived in Australia at an unknown date, and settled down in small tribes, each guarding as its own a large hunting district; there they devoted themselves to tribal warfare and searching for food. Many of their customs, which to the first white travellers seemed senseless, are now understood to have been the wise outcome of the experience of the tribe. In the same way their language has now been discovered to be flexible and efficient, though it lacked words for ideas that seem indispensable to our minds. They never attained to tilling the soil or to building permanent dwellings; but they were treated with so much cruelty by the early colonists that we have been deprived of accurate, detailed information of the race before it was debased by contact with European enemies.

European settlers, however, neglected Australia for two centuries after America had been colonized. To all explorers coming from the north-east the coast appeared barren and inhospitable. Moreover, the Portuguese had no anxiety to discover any fresh lands east of longitude 147°, as they would have been obliged to cede them to the Spaniards by the arrangements ordained by the Pope after the New World had been discovered by Columbus in 1492 (see p. 281). On the other hand, the Spaniards, sending expeditions from their South American ports, always bore away to the north-west, towards the Philippines, to avoid the westerly winds which blow in the south. However, one De

Quiros did keep low enough to touch the New Hebrides, which he named "Australia del Espiritu Santo." Before this Mendana, another Spaniard, had touched at so many small islands on his travels that he impressed on all geographers the existence of a "terra Australis incognita," which stretched from east to west, and, by encircling the Pacific, preserved the balance between earth and water and kept the globe steady.

When the Dutch obtained Java from the Portuguese, they settled earnestly to the task of investigating the seas south of that possession. In 1606 the *Dwyfken* crept along the south coast of New Guinea as far as the strait, which had been discovered by the Spaniard Torres, and named after him. She missed the passage, and turned south into the Gulf of Carpentaria. "No waterway south of New Guinea," was her captain's report, a mistaken belief which lasted 150 years.

Other Dutch seamen wandered along the western shore of Australia with such frequency up to 1628 that the land was christened New Holland, though the "terra Australis incognita" was still believed to be awaiting the bold explorer in the South Pacific Ocean. Even Commandant Tasman in 1636, though he discovered Tasmania and New Zealand, failed to gain a clear idea of the extent of the land at which he and his countrymen had touched so often. Dampier, who was the first Englishman to reach the continent, was merely a buccaneer looking for sound anchorage, a refuge from which he might attack the Dutch trading vessels. He found nothing but stunted timber,





SIR JOSEPH BANKS

"disgusting natives," and sharks, and accordingly wandered off elsewhere (1690).

At the close of the Seven Years' War the British government conceived the idea of employing in exploration experienced sailors, who were no longer needed for fighting. In 1768 Lieutenant James Cook was instructed to make a search for this "terra Australis," which still remained "incognita." Sailing due south from Tahiti for 1,700 miles, he turned west, sailed round New Zealand, turned north, and worked up the eastern shore of Australia, and finally grasped the fact that this must be the eastern coast of New Holland. He took possession of it in the name of Britain, and renamed it New South Wales. Even then he did not realize the importance of his discovery; he apologized to the Admiralty, and spent his next voyage in another search for the "terra incognita." A young botanist, Joseph Banks, accompanied Cook's first expedition, and his imagination was fired by this new country, its richness and its beauty. He became the famous and influential President of the Royal Society, and for fifty years he did all he could to promote the development of the new colony. It is largely to him that the colonization of Australia is due.

Joseph Banks got his first opportunity in 1779. Thanks to the revolt of the North American colonies, the English government had no convenient spot in which they could dispose of their convicts. These prisoners, often the victims of a brutal system of justice or of political persecution, were crowding the English gaols, and it was sug-

gested that they should be sent to Botany Bay, the spot where Cook had remained a week, and which to Banks had seemed so charming. In 1787. Captain Phillip was despatched, with a small fleet, to found a convict settlement there. eight months' voyage of 12,000 miles, he arrived with about 1,000 convicts and warders to face a task of appalling difficulty. Botany Bay turned out to be an unsafe anchorage, the land around it nothing but swamps and sand. Captain Phillip had not a single farmer among his men. He and his successors had to build, to plough, to organize. to handle to the best advantage the murderers. forgers, poachers, and pickpockets, who were herded together under his charge. The only hope seemed to be to discover other suitable spots along the coast, where the land was sufficiently fertile to support a small population, and where a mountain barrier made escape by land impossible. Accordingly the settlement was moved a few miles north, and the work of building Sydney began. During all this time of exploration and arrangement food and other supplies had to be brought from South Africa and China; in fact, the colony did not become self-supporting until 1807.

More uncontrollable than the convicts were the convict guards. War was in the air in Europe, and no regular soldiers could be spared. The specially enrolled regiment, the New South Wales Corps, could not hope to attract the best class of either officers or men, but rather those who saw in this task an escape from active service and a chance of personal profit. A Major Grose, the first commander, set

the example. His officers seized upon the best land and the hardest workers among the convicts, and devoted themselves to making money. One of them, Lieutenant MacArthur, introduced sheepfarming, but most of them distilled spirits. Finally, when Governor Bligh (see p. 324), arrived, who endeavoured to check them, they imprisoned him, and ruled the colony for their own benefit, until the Home government, thoroughly scandalized, made a clean sweep of the old administration.

Colonel Lachlan Macquarie, who followed Bligh as Governor, set himself to open up the colony. Blaxland, Evans, and Oxley were encouraged to explore the hinterland; and, crossing the Blue Mountains, they discovered fertile valleys, watered by two fine rivers, which they named after the Governor. By 1821 New South Wales covered an area of 400 miles by 300 miles. Macquarie allowed "emancipists," as convicts who had earned their freedom were called, to settle on their own farms. and to take their places as respectable citizens. He even made them lawyers and magistrates, and invited them, with other colonists, to his house. This was a bitter blow to the old ex-officers and officials, who still remained as the most important settlers. They eventually secured Macquarie's dismissal in 1821. In 1823 the colony was remodelled by the Home government, which recognized that it was no longer a mere convict-station. A Council was nominated to advise the Governor. law-courts established, and an independent Chief Justice appointed. The colonists, who had already a free press, soon obtained trial by jury, and began to agitate for self-government, under the leadership of Wentworth. British immigrants arrived, and were lured to outlying settlements by the grant of 100 acres of land for every convict they took upon their farms as an "assigned servant" to earn his freedom by good conduct.

The island of Tasmania had been set aside as a penal settlement for more desperate offenders. The strenuous Governor Arthur in 1824 imprisoned the worst convicts in Tasman's Peninsula, assigned the rest as farm-servants or to road gangs, shot down the bushrangers—escaped prisoners who lived by robbery—and deported all the native blacks to an island in the Bass Strait. When the transportation of convicts to New South Wales was abolished in 1840, and to Tasmania in 1849, the colonies felt that a degradation had been removed.

Meanwhile exploration and colonization were developing apace. The names of the Rivers Brisbane and Darling commemorate the Governors under whose encouragement they were discovered. The heroic Charles Sturt forced his way through the unknown interior along the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers to Encounter Bay, and back again to New South Wales by the fiery inland route, losing his sight through the privations he suffered.

Great Britain, after the war with Napoleon, feared that France was coveting Australia. To forestall her, Melville Island, off the north coast, was occupied in 1824, and Fort Essington built upon the neighbouring mainland in 1829. Fort Albany was built upon King George's Sound, in the south-west, in 1826. Settlers were advertised for to take up

land at Is. 6d. an acre in Western Australia, to be paid for in advance before they left England. The settlers arrived and built Perth, the capital of the new colony, on the River Freemantle. But the richest men who had bought the land in England had secured all the districts within reach of the town, so that the small holders and those who came afterwards found themselves at an impossible distance from their market. The colony was thus too heavily handicapped to make any progress.

This experiment had been watched with great interest by Lord Durham (see p. 141) and other English land reformers, and one of them—Wakefield—suggested a new colony, where labourers should be encouraged to go out in the hope of saving enough in four years or so to buy small holdings. In 1834 all South Australia between longitude 132° and 141° and south of latitude 26° was handed over to Commissioners to try this experiment. The land was sold in England at a uniform price, but delay in surveying it postponed agricultural development.

The landowners built Adelaide, and busied themselves with speculating in town lots; the labourers, therefore, could not find employment, and the Governor eventually was obliged to start relief works to find them occupation and food. Such was the confusion that the colony was on the verge of bankruptcy. Under Captain (afterwards Sir) George Grey (see p. 198), who was sent out as Governor in 1841, the colonists were at last able to betake themselves to farming and open up the land. His genius and the opportune discovery of lead and

copper mines overcame the worst difficulties, and when he left, four years later, a period of quiet prosperity had set in, which lasted until the discovery of gold changed the conditions of life in South Australia (see p. 178).

All this time New South Wales was opening out under the sympathetic administration of Governor Bourke, who instituted "assisted immigration" to attract British labourers and artisans. vevor-general, Sir Thomas Mitchell, followed up and connected the discoveries of earlier explorers. He traced the Murray River to its mouth at Port Phillip, where he found several groups of settlers from Tasmania, who had come across at different times and established themselves, regardless of governments and governors. In 1836-1837 Bourke persuaded the Colonial Office to recognize these southern colonists. Melbourne was built as the capital of the new settlement. Its territory was defined in 1840, and it was recognized as a separate colony under the name of Victoria (1849-1851).

A measure of representative government was granted to New South Wales in 1842, during the governorship of Sir George Gipps. Twenty-four elected members were added to the Council, which obtained full legislative powers and control of the revenue, except that accruing from land. Only property owners had the right to vote—those who possessed £200 worth of land or a house worth £20 a year—and most of them were landowners or squatters.

Sheep-farming had been introduced in the days of Governor Bligh, and fine Spanish merinos imported from the flocks of George III. Under the

influence of reformers at home, the British government had ordered Governor Bourke not to sell land throughout New South Wales at less than 12s. an acre—the same arbitrary price as that in South Australia, and absurdly high for grazing-ground. Consequently the stock-owners gradually moved their flocks out of the settled districts, and began "squatting" in the wilds, going from place to place as the grass was eaten off. They had no right to the use of the land, but the government could not afford to prosecute them for trespass, and so destroy the wool industry. Therefore licences were granted to them to let their sheep wander over definite districts, though the government retained the ownership. As population grew, much of the land was required for the new farmers, and the government began to withdraw the licences. War ensued between the squatters and the farmers, but it was fought out at the polling-booth rather than with rifles. The question was not settled until 1885 (see p. 181).

## CHAPTER III

#### GOLD AND DEVELOPMENT

Discovery of gold—Nature of the early mining—The rush from other countries to the diggings—Disturbances—Change in the character of the mining—Development of the various colonies—Self-government.

THE whole character of the colonies was changed by the discovery of gold in 1851. The very name of gold has such a fascination that men will abandon any other occupation to rush to the diggings, in the hope of picking it up by the handful. And, indeed, the early type of gold-mining was extraordinarily fascinating. No expensive machinery was required; the gold lay in the sand or the gravels, and was separated by hand. The only tools required were a spade and a "cradle." At any moment one might hit upon a pocket or a nugget which would make the finder rich for life. Steady work nearly always brought enough "dust" to make two ends meet, and the hope always remained of a rich "strike." Later on gold-mining became as dull and mechanical as any other kind of mining, when the metal had to be extracted from the quartz by elaborate machinery; but at first it attracted all the adventurous spirits of the world, who felt no call to the steadier methods of making a livelihood.

Although rumours of gold-discoveries had spread as early as 1841, the real rush was to Victoria in 1851. Men came pouring in from all parts of the world—"fortyniners" from California, farmers, sailors, revolutionaries of the outbreaks in '48, who felt safer and freer away from Europe. The population of Victoria was doubled in a year; other trades were deserted; the diggings were a seething mass of men who looked for a fortune from the diggings, and of men who, with greater forethought, looked for a fortune from the diggers and their needs.

Trouble was bound to arise. A young government, accustomed to a peaceful agricultural population, failed to cope with the new conditions. They endeavoured to impose a tax, which the miners refused to pay. Ugly riots at Ballarat followed;

the "Eureka" stockade was captured by the military, and the disturbance was crushed before it became a revolt. Still, the government had to give in and modify their tax.

When the surface gold was exhausted, the chance of the small man vanished. Companies with abundant capital were necessary to erect the expensive machinery now required. Many of the old miners took to "bushranging" (see p. 174), and were only subdued with some difficulty; but the majority settled down in peace, taking up plots of land or adopting some trade in the towns. Thus the country benefited by a permanent increase in the population; and Victoria utilized her increased wealth to send out exploring expeditions and to develop her territory.

Other colonies began to prosper under the impetus. Tasmania benefited from the increase of trade and the departure of many of her ex-convicts to the diggings. South Australia received many new settlers, who, when the rush subsided, were attracted by her rich plains. Western Australia, after stagnating in isolation, welcoming convicts as her means of support until 1868, and thus incurring the contempt of the other colonies, underwent the same experiences as they had nearly forty years later, on the discovery of the Coolgardie goldfields (1890). Not until then did she become a self-governing colony. Queensland, originally a settlement of New South Wales farmers and squatters, in the valley of the Brisbane, running down to Moreton Bay, became a separate self-governing colony, with Brisbane as its capital, in 1859, after the vast and fertile interior

## 180 THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

up to the north peninsula of Cape York had been explored by Leichardt and Mitchell.

Leichardt disappeared on a later expedition across the centre of the continent, and has never since been heard of. Gregory, who in 1865-1868 went out to seek him, discovered instead the great lake district of South Australia. He was followed by Stuart, a South Australian, who struck through the country to the Timor Sea in 1862, and thus gained for his colony the control of the "Northern Territory." At the same time Burke and Wills, after fighting their way across the continent from Victoria to the Gulf of Carpentaria, died of starvation on the return journey. The battles of Australia have been with the giant forces of Nature, and her heroes have been ready to purchase victory with their lives.

Early in the latter half of the nineteenth century the colonies had freed themselves from the convict incubus, and, stimulated by the discovery of the vast resources of their country, were passing out of the pastoral stage of development. They embarked upon the construction of railways and telegraphs, the founding of schools, universities, and museums, and the expansion of trade and manufacture. By 1856 the British Parliament had sanctioned the form of constitution which each colony but Western Australia had worked out for herself.



AUSTRALIAN BOOMERANG.

## CHAPTER IV

#### AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT AND ITS PROBLEMS

Land difficulties—Railways and the supply of capital—Education — Foreign politics — Constitution of the various States—The Commonwealth—Social problems—Imperial Preference—Coloured immigrants—National service—Social experiments.

THE self-governing colonies found themselves confronted with the land question, which was growing more and more difficult. As we have seen (p. 177), a system of licences had been introduced in New South Wales by which the squatters could graze their sheep over the "out-back" country. But the discovery of gold had taken much of the population from the sea-coast, and wherever a township had sprung up small farmers wanted land where they could produce the food and fodder required by the new-comers. The squatters were obliged to give up the best patches of their runs, unless they were prepared to buy the land outright at the full price. In colonies where the goldfields were not near the sheep-runs the difficulties were not so great, though everywhere the land leased by the sheep-farmers might legally be claimed for agriculturists.

Every colony has passed Land Acts at various dates, whereby the runs of the squatters can be taken back by the government, if land be required for the small farmer, whom every government wishes to see encouraged. Following the example of the Torrens

### 182 THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

Act in South Australia, every colony has now set up a system of land registration, whereby land in private ownership is officially registered by the Government and every sale noted, so that no dispute can arise as to the ownership.

As the interior of Australia was opened up, and as gold and other mines were developed, better means of communication became necessary. There are no great river waterways, and the roads, which had been built by convicts, were insufficient to carry manufactured goods to the mines and the inland towns, or their products to the ports. No private capitalists seemed inclined to provide the money for the building of railways; therefore the governments, who had always managed the roads, borrowed the necessary funds from English investors, and set about building railways themselves. New South Wales led the way by buying out the two small privately-owned railways in 1854, and constructing a system which should meet the wants of the country. Other colonies followed suit, and 15,000 miles of line had been laid down in the continent by 1906. has cost £132,000,000—nearly three-fifths of the public debt. Only one State is making a profit, above the interest paid on the borrowed money which privately-owned railway companies call profit, but all are recompensed by the enormous value of the railways to their citizens. In the construction of telegraph lines, South Australia has a prominent place. That colony in 1870 constructed a line up to her northern territory through nearly 2,000 miles of country which only one white man had ever traversed before.

As in other countries, the religious education of the scholars in the primary schools has been an apple of discord. Throughout Australia the States have now decided to make education free and secular. Each religious body arranges for the religious teaching of the children of the people belonging to it. Secondary education is also looked after by the State in various ways. The four Universities of Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Hobart, are assisted by government grants of money, while there is abundance of technical instruction given in all the States, in agriculture, mining, and various trades.

With regard to the outside world, various panics have arisen in Australia with the prospect of some power other than Britain occupying the neighbouring islands—whether it was the United States in Fiji (1874), France in the New Hebrides (1878), or Germany in New Guinea (1883). A heavy poll-tax was imposed on Chinese immigrants by mutual consent of all the colonies in 1878.

Forty years of self-government fitted Australia for federation. The colonies had united in their opposition to Chinese immigrants, and in fighting for the Empire in South Africa (see pp. 233-234). Sir Henry Parkes, the great Prime Minister of New South Wales, had led the way by pointing out as far back as 1889 the increase in national strength and dignity which federation would give Australia; but the first schemes proposed were unsatisfactory, and local jealousies were hard to conquer. It was not until January 1, 1901, that the Commonwealth of Australia came into being.

The six colonies thus federated-New South

# 184 THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, West Australia, and Tasmania-were henceforth called States; and each of them possesses practically the same form of government. This consists of two Houses, the Council and the Assembly. The members of the former are elected by those voters who possess a certain amount of property, except in New South Wales and Queensland, where the members are nominated for life by the Governor in Council. They sit for six years, and half of them retire every three years. The Assembly is chosen by the votes of all adult residents, male and female (the last State to grant the vote to women was Victoria, in 1908). At the head of affairs is a Cabinet, after the English model, with a governor, appointed by the king for a term of office. This government of each State has control over the railways, education, and land, and over all matters not involving interests outside their own area.

The Federal government controls all matters in which Australia has to do with the world outside—imports and exports, immigration, and relations with other colonies and nations. It manages also all schemes which concern more than one State, such as inter-State commerce, posts, and telegraphs; or in which variety is unnecessary or confusing, such as commercial and marriage laws; but a proposal that it should have control in "industrial matters, including employment and the ways and conditions of employment," was defeated by a referendum taken in 1911. Disputes between States and the Commonwealth are settled by a High Court, which is also a Court of Appeal from all State tribunals.

At the head of the Commonwealth is a Governor-General, chosen by the Crown; under him are the House of Representatives, sitting for three years, elected by seventy-five constituencies of almost\* equal voting strength, and a Senate sitting for six years, to which each State sends six members. For the election of the members of both Houses every man or woman of full age who has lived six months in the Commonwealth, and is not the subject of a foreign power, has the right of voting. If the two Houses disagree, both are dissolved; if after a fresh election the disagreement still continues, they sit together, and the vote of a clear majority decides. The Senate cannot amend money Bills, but may suggest amendments to the other House.

The internal political history of the colonies has, naturally, not been free from disputes, some of them bitter and lasting. In 1877, for instance, the Victorian Assembly wished to pass an Act providing for the payment of members. To this the Council refused to agree, and the ministry dismissed nearly all the better paid members of the Civil Service. The dispute was carried to England before the Council yielded. Even in 1907 South Australia found its Council and its Assembly in furious disagreement; and some maintain that there is no more need for a Second Chamber in the Australian States than there appears to be in most of the Canadian provinces (see p. 150).

The problems to be faced to-day are of great moment. The principle seems to be recognized

<sup>\*</sup> Tasmania sends five members, in spite of the smallness of her population.

that the various governments ought to do all that they can for their peoples, and not merely to keep the field clear for the strife of competition. They have interfered in almost every activity of their citizens. They have tried to protect all their members-land-users from drought and flood by grants of money and grain, by making irrigation channels, and by teaching them how to use their land to the best advantage; manufacturers, by putting duties on imported goods, especially on those made by poorly-paid workmen; wage-earners, by fixing, with the aid of the Wages Boards and Arbitration Courts, a standard of fair wages and humane conditions of employment; and consumers —that is, everybody—by forbidding producers or importers to describe falsely the goods they have to sell. The Federal government raises practically all the money necessary for State purposes by a tariff, paying to the separate States at present a fixed grant of 25s. per head of population. It is hoped also, by admitting goods from any part of the Empire into Australia at a lower duty than foreign products, to bind together the Empire more closely—an idea that cannot be fully carried out until Britain herself adopts it, by abandoning her Free Trade policy of the last sixty years (see p. 115).

Meanwhile, the great question, on which Australia is determined, is the exclusion of non-European settlers. She intends to keep out absolutely all immigrants who are not of European descent. But the fact remains that most of the human beings who make up the British Empire are not of European descent, and one of Britain's most important allies





Types of the Indian Native Army, Bengal.



Cape Mounted Rifles (Police).



South Australian Infantry.



Irish Guards.



Types of the Canadian Force.

ARMY TYPES: COLONIAL REGIMENTS.

in the Pacific is Japan. Moreover, there is ample room for millions of inhabitants in the Australian continent, and settlers from Europe are more prone to try America, which is nearer and offers equal inducements. Nevertheless, the Australian says clearly: "I will not allow an alien race, with different ideas on the rights and duties of man and woman, to enter my country while its institutions are still in the making." Steps are already being taken in the direction of an Australian fleet to defend Australian waters and of compulsory and universal military training. But, as in Canada (see p. 162), these forces will become part of the Imperial scheme of defence. Australia is beginning to understand that she cannot cut herself off from world-politics, and that in these politics the prestige and power of the Empire is of incalculable value. Meanwhile, the Australians are rendering a valuable imperial service. They are trying experiments in government and administration, particularly in the amount and sort of control it may be desirable for a State to exercise over its people. They are working on the assumption that a citizen has certain duties to the State, besides the mere duty of paying other people to do things for it; and also that a man is happiest himself and most useful to his country when he is allowed, and has been trained, to do the work for which he is naturally fitted, under pleasant and healthy conditions, and without fear that other men's greater riches or cunning may rob him of his due reward. It does not, however, follow that experiments which succeed in a new country like Australia would necessarily succeed in an old country like Britain.

## CHAPTER V

#### THE RESOURCES OF AUSTRALIA

Population—Its distribution in town and country—Sheep-farming—Gold—Agriculture—Wheat—Sugar plantations—Dairy produce—Forests—Coal.

It is not enough to say "Australia is to-day very prosperous." We must by figures and comparison find out how far she is really rich in men and goods. The population is about 4,500,000—not yet as large as that of London; but it is composed almost entirely of workers, or of those who will work when they are old enough. About one-fifth of the women and girls are classed as workers, and two-thirds of the men and boys; 25 per cent. are employed in agriculture, and 16 per cent. in manufactures; whereas the figures for England are 17 per cent. for agriculture and 52 per cent. for manufactures—a fact which throws some light on the physical powers of Australian football teams. Moreover, the export and import trade amounts to £25 4s. per head, compared with England's £20 IIs. per head.

In a new country the most valuable industries are the raising of cattle and sheep and also mining, as these occupations yield most result from least labour. Australia produces 20 per cent. of the wool of the world, and Australian wool is the best—longer, softer, and more elastic than even Spanish merino. It has always found a ready sale in Europe, which has sent Australia implements, tools, and





IN THE AUSTRALIAN BUSH.

food-stuffs in return. The squatter nowadays has to take his sheep farther inland, where water is more scarce; but the increase of railways, the scientific locking of rivers, and the boring of artesian wells, are turning sheep-farming into a scientific industry rather than a "gamble."

Gold has been more valuable as an advertise-

Gold has been more valuable as an advertisement than a product. Australia has yielded about £500,000,000 worth of gold since the first great rush; but, reckoning up the amounts lost in gold-mining, the actual profits of the industry have been small. Since gold-mining has been an established industry, the price of the commodity remains fairly steady, so that a regular return has been assured. The settlers who have been attracted to the country by the mines have been of infinitely more value than the metal which has been taken from them.

The agricultural industries have developed of late years, since population has greatly increased. Wheat can be grown on the coastal plains, practically all round the east and south of the continent. Experiments on the government farms, which are established in various districts, are teaching farmers methods of increasing the output, in spite of water difficulties. Up to the present half the corn grown is required at home, but the time may come when Australia will be able to rival Canada as the "Granary of the Empire." Sugar is grown in the tropical, sub-tropical, and even the temperate districts in Queensland, but the home demand can hardly be met at present. At first it seemed necessary to employ-at all events, in the hotter plantations—coloured labourers, called Kanakas,

## 190 THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

from the New Hebrides. This is now forbidden, but the planters are discovering that, by the use of machinery, much of the harder work can be avoided; moreover, there is some evidence that white labour produces better and quicker results, when white men will live sensibly in a manner suited to a tropical climate. In the seasons when workers are not required on the plantations the labourers can find occupation in the timber and mining industries which are already established in Queensland.

Dairy-farming employs more labour than mere cattle-breeding, and is rapidly replacing it along the whole of the east coast. In 1906, 75,000,000 pounds of butter were exported. A group of farmers send milk to a central factory, where butter is produced in large quantities, and forwarded to the refrigerating chamber of the steamer, which carries it to London. Frozen meat is exported in years of drought, when the cattle are killed off. When pasture is abundant the export drops at once. Queensland, in particular, makes use of her frozen meat trade as a safety-valve in bad years.

Fruit-growing is still a small industry; orchards require much skilled attention, and keep the grower waiting a long time for a return for his work and capital. Queensland supplies the more tropical fruits, bananas and pineapples. Oranges flourish on the coast near Sydney, and the cold climate fruits on the higher slopes, more inland; Tasmanian apples are well known in England. Since 1828 vine-growing has been attempted in New South Wales. To-day South Australia, with the aid of her German immi-

grants, holds the leading place; but more expert knowledge of wine-making is needed before France and Germany can be met in the open market on an equality. Australian hard woods are appreciated throughout Europe for wood-paving and similar purposes. They are grown mainly in Western Australia, and form a third of the products of the continent. In the east abundance of soft wood exists, but the farmer who wishes to make a clearing burns down all the growth in his anxiety to prepare the ground for a crop—a wasteful process, for the scrub thus destroyed is of distinct commercial value.

The hills are full of mineral wealth. Right down the eastern tableland lie hidden stores of tin, copper, silver, aluminium, and iron, and at both extremities of it, in Tasmania, and in the ranges behind Cairns, almost all metals that science has discovered or industry requires are jumbled up together, waiting for the day when man shall claim them for his use. The value of the present mineral output is £6,000,000, of which a very large proportion is exported. Two and a half million pounds' worth of coal is raised annually, mainly in New South Wales and Queensland, though many coal-fields are still untouched. The metal manufactures of Australia have hardly begun; her mineral wealth has only been scratched on the surface. When the growth of the population demands the expansion of those industries, requiring a large number of workers, raw material will be found in rich abundance.

## Ш

# THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND

## CHAPTER I

#### PHYSICAL FEATURES

Position — Area — Climatic conditions — North Island —South Island—Position of towns—Rainfall as affected by mountains—Vegetation—Minerals—Exports.

NEW ZEALAND, like the British Isles, is an archipelago. It consists of three larger islands and a number of smaller ones. The large islands lie in a chain, with only narrow straits between them. North Island, South Island (officially known as Middle Island), and Stewart Island together measure nearly 1,100 miles in length. They are so narrow that no place is more than 75 miles from the sea. The area of the whole archipelago is rather less than that of Great Britain and Ireland.

New Zealand lies in the Pacific Ocean, about 1,200 miles from Australia and 6,000 miles from America. Though the same distance from the Equator as Italy or Japan, it has a more temperate climate, thanks to the mass of water which surrounds it. Also the prevailing wind comes over the ocean from the west, bringing an abundant supply of moisture.

The larger islands are volcanic, though no actual





Photo Underwood & Underwood

MOUNT PEMBROKE, FROM MILFORD SOUND, NEW ZEALAND.

eruption has taken place since 1886; hot mud and water geysers and smoking rocks show that the volcanoes are merely quiescent.

The North Island is exceedingly mountainous. The main range extends for 200 miles in length, and rises to a height of over 8,000 feet. It terminates to the north in a long irregular peninsula. On the neck of the peninsula stands Auckland, the largest town in the island, connected with Wellington, the present capital, by a railway which runs through the valley and skirts the mountains to the west of the Waikato River. As the mountains lie to the east and the wind comes from the west, the rainfall is uniform over all the island.

On the South Island the mountains, which are higher than those in North Island, culminate in Mount Cook (12,300 feet). Amongst them lie glaciers and mountain lakes. In fact, they merit the name of the Southern Alps. The mountains run so near to the sea on the west that the coastal plain is very narrow, and its towns are cut off from the other side of the island by an almost impassable barrier. On the eastern side of that barrier the wide grassy Canterbury plains, the largest lowlands of New Zealand, stretch from the mountains to the sea, watered by the longest rivers in the island. Centres of population have sprung up where there is good anchorage for ships, where natural land-routes meet, or where a gap in the mountains makes communication easy. The principal towns are Christchurch and Dunedin on the eastern coast.

On the west of the Southern Alps the wind of the ocean brings abundance of rain. The lower slopes on this side are therefore densely forested, while the higher slopes are suitable for cattle-grazing. But on the east the wind is dry and hot, like the "Chinook" of Canada or the "Föhn" of Switzerland. It has passed over the mountains, and has left all its moisture on its path. The eastern rainfall is under 30 inches, and cereals do better than anywhere else in the Southern Hemisphere. In the south of South Island the Alps run sheer to the sea, forming deep fiords, like those of Norway—beautiful, but unsuitable for colonists requiring easy landing.

New Zealand appears to have been at one time completely covered with a dense forest bush of evergreen timber; but this forest has been gradually destroyed by clearings and by fires. Recently the government has busied itself with the preservation of timber, of which the most valuable is the kauri pine, yielding resin. On the land which has been cleared large crops of corn, hemp, and fruits are grown. The Canterbury plains are famous for their sheep, bred both for wool and mutton, which is frozen and exported in special refrigerating chambers. Dairy produce, butter, and cheese is now exported to the value of £2,000,000 a year. New Zealand has much mineral wealth. Coal and gold are both abundant. The latter is now of decreasing importance, while the former becomes yearly of greater value, as the mines develop. The towns on each island are now connected by a system of State-owned railways. Steamers run to Australia, Calcutta, Panama, and England.

### CHAPTER II

### MAORIS AND EARLY SETTLERS

The Maoris—Their customs and religion—Whalers and sealers—Claims on the land—British annexation—Treaty of Waitangi.

THE first inhabitants of New Zealand, as far as history records, were the Maoris, a race akin to the Polynesians, the inhabitants of many other islands of the Pacific. They tell many legends of their journey to New Zealand from over the sea, but the starting-point and date of that journey are unknown. They settled mostly in the North Island, built "pas," or fortified villages, and occupied themselves in incessant tribal wars. Their woodcarving was extraordinarily clever and beautiful, particularly in their great war-canoes. Their clothing was woven of flax, sometimes decorated with feathers or dogskin. Both men and women were tattooed. The gods they worshipped were numerous, but the most important part of their religion was the "tapu", whereby certain objects were declared sacred, and chiefs and priests were enabled to preserve anything they wished from interference at the hands of the tribe. Land was not held in private ownership, but belonged to the whole of a tribe or family, so that no one person had the right to sell or dispose of it. The only profession for a man was that of arms; weaving and agriculture were in the hands of the women, assisted by slaves. Hospitality was universal. Though the old mode of life has passed away, the Maoris are still a stately race, mentally and physically.

Considering the ignorance of the early mariners (see pp. 169-171) of the geography of Australia, it is not surprising that Tasman (1642) is the first European known to have visited New Zealand. It was Captain Cook who, in 1769, first undertook the exploration of the islands. He hoisted the English flag there, but after unfortunate encounters with the natives left the island to a peace only broken by occasional French explorers.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century Europeans began to settle in New Zealand. Whaling and sealing stations were established in the south, and a trade with the natives developed. These first settlers were followed by a party of devoted British missionaries, who achieved some success among the natives, in spite of the degrading influence of the traders and their dangerous wares.

By 1825 a town had sprung up on the Bay of Islands, in North Island, but without any government to maintain order. Constant trouble arose between natives and settlers, culminating in pitched battles. The Governor of New South Wales set up magistrates to settle disputes, but with little success, and in 1833 a British Resident was appointed, but without any force behind him. Finally, in 1840 the confusion had become a scandal. The "New Zealand Company," which owed its origin to Edward Gibbon Wakefield (see p. 175), wearied by the delays of the government, had landed a large body of colonists; the French were making further attempts to gain a foothold; while

various adventurers in Australia were claiming huge tracts of land on the island, which they declared they had purchased. The British government felt itself forced to annex the country.

In February, 1840, the treaty of Waitangi was signed with the Maori chiefs, whereby, in exchange for complete sovereignty over the islands, the chiefs were granted full enjoyment of their tribal possessions; but the English crown was to have the first right of buying any land that the owners might wish to sell. The natives were granted all the rights and privileges of British subjects. New Zealand was thus created a separate colony, with a white and coloured population on equal terms. Captain Hobson as Governor was assisted by a Council, composed of officials—that is to say, the administration was that of a Crown colony, without any representative element.

# CHAPTER III

#### **PROGRESS**

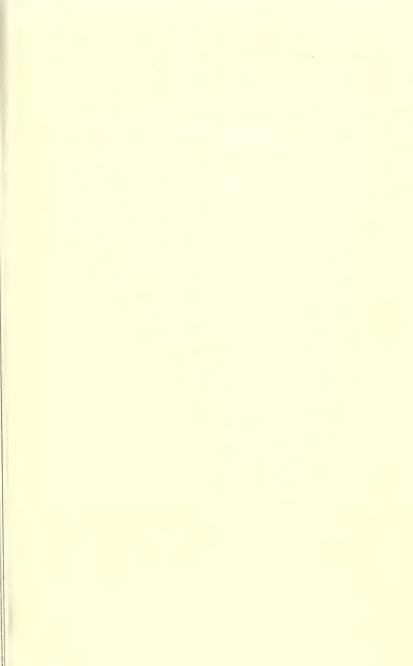
The natives and the New Zealand Company—First governorship of Sir George Grey—Representative government—The Maori wars—Second governorship of Sir George Grey—Discovery of gold—The "Public Works Policy"—Economic depression and recovery.

THE Governor's task was no easy one. He had to administer the colony without financial aid from England. The Customs and land sales brought in little, and bankruptcy seemed imminent. More-

over, the "New Zealand Company" was strenuous in its opposition to the Treaty of Waitangi. Its agent had made large purchases of land from the natives, and it resented inquiries as to the right of the sellers to sell them. It attempted to make fresh purchases without the consent of government, and made surveys of land which was still occupied by its native holders. The government at home sent out a commissioner to investigate. The natives awaited his decisions calmly, but the Company chafed at the delay: its view was that the Treaty of Waitangi was merely a device to amuse the natives. After Hobson's death, Commander Fitzroy, when he arrived in 1842, found that hostilities had actually broken out. He came to the conclusion that the natives were in the right. and refused to take steps against them, with the result that he incurred the hatred of most of the settlers.

Fitzroy's financial schemes also failed, and he was recalled in 1845, to be replaced by Captain (later Sir George) Grey, the most popular and successful Governor in this or perhaps any British colony (see p. 175). His first acts were to quell all disturbances with the aid of troops, and to persuade both the natives and the colonists that justice would be done to all parties.

It must be remembered that up to this time only the North Island had been settled, though the South Island might have seemed, with its open plains and its scanty native population, far more suitable. But now the South Island was colonized by societies organized by the New Zealand Company consisting





Photo, Emery Walker.

SIR GEORGE GREY.

From the portrait by Herkomer, in the National Portrait Gallery.

To face page 199.

of members of the Free Kirk of Scotland and the Established Church of England. The settlements centring round Dunedin and Canterbury were formed in 1847-1850. The country was soon found to be most suitable for sheep, and many sheep-farmers from Australia joined the British colonists.

The year 1852 marks an epoch in the history of New Zealand. Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, had, six years before, sent out a scheme for representative government, but it was wholly unsuitable for the colony, and Sir George Grey was allowed to suspend its introduction. Now the Imperial parliament passed the Constitution Act. The colony was divided into six provinces, each with a Superintendent and Council elected by the people. The government of the whole colony was vested in a Governor, nominated by the Crown, and a Parliament. The latter consisted of a Legislative Council, nominated by the Governor, and a House of Representatives, elected every five years. All adult males who were British subjects and had held a certain amount of property for a certain time were entitled to vote for the local and general councils.

The new scheme did not work at first with any smoothness. It was not easy to see how far the local councils might encroach upon the parliament; each province wanted to manage its own affairs, and objected to any interference, even for the general good. Again, it was uncertain how far the ministers were to be responsible to the elected assembly. More difficult than all was the native question. Though the Maoris were British subjects, and had the right to vote, in practice very few possessed the

necessary qualifications. To meet the difficulty, the management of native affairs was left to the Governor personally. Thus he was liable to come into conflict with his ministers, who were supposed to be interpreting the wishes of a self-governing

people.

At the end of 1854 Sir George Grey left the colony, amid universal regret, for which, indeed, the Maoris in particular had good reason. From this date all means for raising the position of the natives were neglected. Education among them was discouraged; the sale of arms was permitted; quarrels between the tribes were left to take their course. Ultimately the Maoris chose themselves a king, not with the idea of rebelling, but in the hope of obtaining some form of steady government in their own territory. This kingship, however, held them together, so that when war broke out they were more ready to combine.

War with the British did break out in 1859. The dispute arose over the sale of a strip of land which a Maori, who had not the right to do so, sold to the government. Without going fully into the facts, the governor, Colonel Gore Browne, took forcible possession of the land in question, and fighting began which lasted with occasional inter-

missions until 1870.

A particularly unpleasant war it was for the British. At no time were there more than 2,000 Maoris in the field, and they possessed no arms but inferior muskets. But their skill in forest craft enabled them to evade their pursuers with ease, while their cunningly constructed "pas" presented formidable

GOLD 201

obstacles to troops, even though armed with cannon. Against them were at one time as many as 20,000 troops in the field, including regulars, bluejackets, and colonials, but they were always unable to crush their opponents. The bravery of the Maoris was magnificent; when trapped, they were ready to die to the last man and woman rather than surrender. As their great chief Rewi said: "We will fight to the end for ever, for ever, for ever. Maori women fight like Maori men."

The war caused endless quarrels between the governor (though Sir George Grey had returned to that office in 1861), the ministers, the generals in command, and the Imperial government. With England providing the troops, and the New Zealand ministers criticizing the conduct of the war, and even directing operations, the position became intolerable. Finally, when the worst of the crisis was over, the Premier requested that the Imperial troops should be withdrawn. The war smouldered on till 1870 between the local militia and the Maoris, who had taken refuge in the mountains.

In 1861 the outlook was brightened by the discovery of gold in the colony in paying quantities. The usual gold rush (see p. 178) followed. In three years the European population of the colony doubled, rising to 168,000. Moreover, as in Australia when the gold fever abated, the rich character of the country encouraged most of the gold-seekers to remain on the land, so that the increase in the number of Europeans was permanent.

When Sir George Grey ceased to be governor, in 1868, the New Zealand parliament, rather than the

governor, became the moving force. The ministers within two years—that is, by 1870—inaugurated what is known as the "Public Works Policy." The public debt then amounted to about £9,000,000. The Prime Minister proposed to borrow an additional £10,000,000 for a vast scheme of public works and assisted immigration. The idea was taken up with enthusiasm, and a period of extraordinary prosperity followed. In two years the revenue doubled; vigorous and skilled agriculturists came, not only from Great Britain, but also from Scandinavia. Though the export in gold fell off, the wool trade increased, as did the minor exports, such as flax and gum.

By 1879 the tide of prosperity had begun to turn, and the real test of colonial grit began. The prices of colonial products fell heavily, and the value of land in New Zealand went down in proportion. Many of the large government works were completed at the same time, and numbers of workmen were thus thrown out of employment. The State found it actually necessary to reduce all salaries of public servants by 10 per cent., and a national collapse seemed imminent. But the people showed their spirit by utilizing the undeveloped resources of the country. They began direct communication with England and an export trade in frozen mutton; they opened up fresh coal-mines; new manufactures sprang into existence. The crisis passed, and New Zealand proved her vitality by her rapid recovery.

# CHAPTER IV

### MODERN DEVELOPMENTS

Universal suffrage—Experiments in State control by a democracy—Taxation—The land and its distribution—The town worker—Old-age pensions—Native progress—The development of the last twenty years—Imperial defence—Education—Social experiments.

During the last twenty years New Zealand has embarked upon many interesting experiments in social legislation. The leading features of this policy may be classified under the headings of Constitutional changes, Taxation, Land Acts, Labour Legislation, Old-Age Pensions, Native Affairs, and Compulsory Military Training.

The provincial system was swept away in 1876. The great "Public Works Policy" had included the building of railways and other undertakings of a national character, and the powers of the provinces were a hindrance to these national schemes. They were therefore replaced by county councils, which now control purely local affairs, while their wider powers were given to the central parliament.

The franchise for the New Zealand parliament has been gradually extended to practically all the adult population. Since 1893 both men and women over the age of twenty-one, who have resided in one place for more than six weeks, have had the right to vote. The members of both Houses are paid. In the Lower House sit eighty representatives, of whom seventy-six are Europeans and four Maoris.

The number of Councillors in the Upper House, to which Maoris are eligible, remains unlimited—that is to say, the ministry in power can request the governor to appoint any number of new members. They are, however, only nominated for seven years. Elections to the Lower House are triennial, so that the people can express, at intervals of three years, their approval or the reverse of the actions of the government. The governor is appointed by the Crown, and is responsible to it for his actions.

Taxation in New Zealand, as in all other countries, has ever been a burning question. At present the money required for purposes of government is raised by a land tax, graduated on a scale which rises rapidly in the case of large estates or absentee owners. In addition there is an income tax, which is graduated in the same way. Duties on imports, with preference for goods produced within the Empire, together with the profits from the State railways and other State enterprises, make up the remainder of the revenue. Out of the sum thus raised many expenses have to be met, including the cost of education, old-age pensions, universal military training, and the contribution to the fleet of the Empire.

New Zealand has settled the ownership of her land upon a broad and definite basis, following up the principle laid down in the Treaty of Waitangi (see p. 197). Most of the land has either been bought from the State or is held on lease from it. Under Sir George Grey the acquisition of large estates by private owners was encouraged; these, however, maintain only a scanty population. Later

statesmen have wished to see large estates split up into small farms, with opportunities for a considerable number of settlers. They have, therefore, passed Land for Settlement Acts, by which the State can, at a fair price, take away all but 1,000 acres or so of an estate, and re-let it to small tenants. The land unoccupied up to the present is let—sometimes sold—to settlers on easy terms. With the assistance of land banks, a small farmer can easily borrow the capital necessary to stock a farm. Everything is done therefore to encourage the working farmer.

The worker in the towns is also protected by legislation. If a dispute arises between the employer and employed, either party can claim to have the matter settled by a Court of Arbitration, which will give an award legally binding on both parties for three years. A scale of wages or of hours of labour can be thus arranged. The Court may even order an employer to reinstate a discharged workman, or to give a preference to members of a trade-union. In a word, although they cannot prevent an employer closing down his business, they may prohibit him from conducting it on any lines except those of which they approve. Though the success of this arrangement is admitted at present by all parties, considerable doubt seems to exist as to how it will work if a period of trade depression sets in.

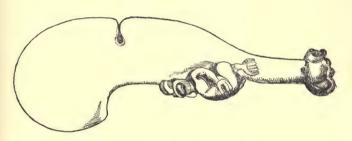
A system of old-age pensions was set up in 1898, and has since then been considerably extended. Every person at the age of sixty-five is entitled to a pension of 10s. a week if his character is proved

satisfactory. If he possess property of the value of more than £50, or an income of more than £34 per annum, he is not eligible for the full pension. The system seems to be working successfully.

With all these provisions for the comfort and independence of the European worker, the native has not been forgotten. All chance of war has passed away long since, and constant efforts are being made to repair the earlier mistakes. The Maoris are now forbidden to get rid of their land in the old way, when they took any price offered, and squandered the money as soon as they got it. The progress of the vices of intemperance and laziness, with their attendant disease and poverty, is being checked by the promotion of education and a share in the responsibilities of government. The Maoris now number 47,000, and their birth-rate at last shows signs of increase.

New Zealand to-day looks back with pride on the progress of the last twenty years. The amount of land under cultivation has increased by nearly a third, and trade has doubled. The European population has risen from 590,000 to over 1,000,000. A complete educational system—free, secular, and compulsory up to the age of fourteen—has been established. Various technical schools, the high schools, and the University of New Zealand provide faculties for free or cheap continued education. The territory of New Zealand has been extended by the addition of various tropical islands—the Kermadec, Cook, and other groups. She has done much to provide for her own defence, has introduced compulsory military training, has taken her share

in the wars of the Empire (1899-1902), and is contributing generously to the Imperial fleet. In 1907 she was made a dominion instead of a colony. She is showing great boldness in making experiments—social, political, and economic—which cannot fail to be of increasing importance, whether by way of warning or example, to the rest of the Empire, and to the world.



NEW ZEALAND WOODEN CLUB.

## IV

# THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

## CHAPTER I

#### PHYSICAL FEATURES

Definition of South Africa—Boundaries—Veld, deserts and mountains—Rivers—Rainfall—Climate—Vegetation.

Southern Africa, from the geographer's point of view, is marked off from the rest of the continent by the watersheds between the Congo and Zambesi Rivers; but the British South African territories now extend considerably beyond the Zambesi, and cover more than 1,000,000 square miles. It is in the larger political sense that we here use the name South Africa for the chain of British colonies and protectorates stretching from Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa to the Cape of Good Hope. south this vast extent of British dominion spreads from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. In the centre it is hemmed in on both sides by German and Portuguese possessions. North of it lie German East Africa, and the Congo State under Belgian rule. The straightness of some of its boundaries implies that the lines have been drawn upon a map by diplomatists in Europe through imperfectly explored regions.

South Africa is a tableland, a large part of which is from 3,000 to 4,000 feet above sea-level. most elevated portions are the healthiest. They are separated from each other by river-basins or by deserts. Thus, the Zambesi divides the heights of Northern from those of Southern Rhodesia, and the Limpopo the latter from the High Veld. Westward the low-lying deserts in Bechuanaland separate the High Veld from the Namaqua and Damara highlands, and to the south the Orange River and its tributary the Vaal carve a channel across the Veld from east to west. The central tableland at its edge rises into lofty ranges of mountains, the highest of which are the Drakensberg on the east, attaining a height of from 11,000 to 12,000 feet. In the south it drops precipitously to the arid plains of the Great Karoo, beyond which two parallel ranges of mountains—the Swarteberg and the Langeberg-run across Cape Colony from east to west, with the plain of the Little Karroo and the Long Kloof (valley) between them. The heights nowhere drop straight down to the sea. In some parts the coastal plains are 100 miles broad; in Natal the cliffs come within thirty miles of the lagoon-fringed shore, rising in a succession of terraces to the lofty parapets above. Everywhere is repeated the familiar formation of Table Mountain; flat summits and steep sides are characteristic of South Africa.

The surface of the veld is sprinkled with kopjes—little rocky hills, shaped by wind and rain. In rainy places, like Natal, the softened outline of the flattened "tafelkop" replaces the sharp pyramid of the wind-swept "spitskop."

The rivers of the tableland have been obstacles, instead of aids, to communication. They cut their way through horizontal rocks, and the roads must descend a steep slope to the drift (ford), and then ascend an equally steep incline. The streams are torrents, often dry in summer, filled only by the sudden storms that are a feature of the climate.

The general conformation of the country very largely determines the rainfall and climatic conditions. South Africa lies in the track of the south-east trade-winds, and the high mountains in the east catch all the moisture which these bring. Hence Natal on the east coast boasts a rainfall of 40 inches, whereas the centre and west enjoy hardly 5 inches. The Cape, however, is far enough south to be in the track of stormy westerly winds in winter. The narrow coastal strip in this district gets both summer and winter rain, and is therefore very fertile. Indeed, the southern and eastern coastal plains are everywhere well watered and suitable for agriculture and the raising of cattle.

In spite of the tropical latitude, the height of the great tablelands keeps the air cool in winter, from May to September. There are only two seasons, and in summer, from September to April, the lack of cloud and moisture makes the sun very fierce by day.

In British South Africa the soil capable of cultivation lies to the north, to the east, and in the far south. Wood abounds in these districts, and in the north-east of Cape Colony and of the Transvaal there are dense forests. Tropical forest marks the course of the Zambesi. The lofty plains of the west are clothed in winter with grass of varying

quality, burnt up during the rainless summer by the sun. Yet some vegetation peculiar to the veld braves the scorching heat, and these tablelands afford pasture to vast herds of antelopes and other wild animals, and in some places to cattle.

### CHAPTER II

### NATIVE RACES AND EUROPEAN COLONIZATION

The Bushmen—The Hottentots—The Bantu invasion— The Portuguese and the Dutch—Importance of the Cape—Conflicts with the Hottentots—Dutch and French immigrants—The Boer colony—Seizure of the Cape by Great Britain.

The original inhabitants of South Africa were Bushmen. They were of small stature, yellowish-brown in colour, with flat noses and receding chins; their heads were covered with detached tufts of short black hair, and, like the ancient Britons, they painted their bodies, using soot or coloured clay. Their language was a strange medley of curious clicks and deep guttural sounds; they covered rocks with strange paintings, and also attempted sculpture. They lived by hunting, and never reached the stage of tilling the ground. There is something terrifying about these tiny savages, following the trail of beast or man with unerring instinct, and letting fly the poisoned arrows that carried certain death.

Amongst these aborigines wandered the Hottentots, a taller and stronger olive-coloured race, seeking pasture for their flocks and herds. The Bushmen took the cattle for a species of game, remarkably easy to kill: hence continual warfare between the two peoples. The Hottentots drove their enemies away from the fertile plains by river and sea back to the deserts and mountains, where a remnant still drag out a miserable existence. Until the eighteenth century Hottentots were the dominant native race in South Africa, dwelling mainly along the sea-coast and the Orange and Vaal Rivers.

Though stronger than the Bushmen, the Hottentots had little skill in fighting, and failed to defend themselves from a wave of migration spreading downward from the north. The invaders were the dark hordes of Bantu, better known to us by the epithet of Kaffir, the Arabic word for "infidel." or under the names of their various tribes and tribal leaders, or the places they now inhabit—Basutos, Pondos, Zulus, Bechuanas, Mashonas, and Matebele. They are a tall, stalwart race, black or brown in colour, with features varying from the Asiatic to the negro type, akin to the inhabitants of the Sudan. When they appeared in Southern Africa, not only had they reached a certain degree of civilization, keeping cattle, tilling the soil, working iron, and obeying an elaborate system of unwritten law, but, like the Sudanese, they possessed a marvellous aptitude for war, combining readily into large, welldisciplined armies, where the penalty for disobedience was death. They descended upon South Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They would have doubtless reached the sea but for the arrival of white colonists; and we must always remember, as we trace the expansion of the European



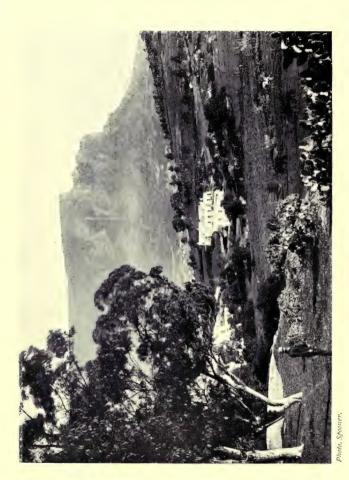


TABLE MOUNTAIN AND CAPE TOWN.

settlements, that they were coming into closer and closer contact with an advancing dark race, ready for battle and accustomed to victory.

The Cape, with its great harbour of Table Bay, is the natural resting-place on the sea-voyage from Europe to India (see pp. 40, 42). It was originally discovered by a Portuguese sailor, Bartholomew Diaz, driven out of his course, who named it the Cape of Storms. The King of Portugal changed the name to the Cape of Good Hope, because he hoped that beyond lay the wealth of the East Indies. And, indeed, ten years later, Vasco da Gama did sail round it to India (1497). Sir Francis Drake, when he sailed round the world in 1580, called it the "fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth." The Portuguese made no attempt to found a settlement there. The natives were reputed to be unfriendly, and, indeed, slew a Portuguese Viceroy of the Indies who interfered with them. But as the voyage from Europe to the Indies occupied a year or so, and, to prevent scurvy, vegetables had to be procured, traders of many various nations dropped anchor from time to time in Table Bay.

In 1652 the Dutch East India Company established a permanent station at Cape Town, round Fort Good Hope, under the command of a ship's surgeon, Jan Van Riebeck. The Company grew vegetables and obtained the fresh meat they required from the Hottentots by barter. This arrangement proved very expensive, so they sent out settlers, known as "burghers" (Boers), who took possession of some of the Hottentots' pasture-land. The natives were

enraged at this and at the destruction of their big game. They took up arms, were defeated, and finally became tributary to the Company.

These conflicts stopped the Dutch cattle-supply from the Hottentots, on which the utility of the station depended; and to provide the Company's ships the Dutch settlers began cattle-breeding. Farmers were encouraged to take up land at some distance from the coast, where fertile valleys, like the Stellenbosch, offered good pastures. More settlers were needed, and Van der Stel, the Governor, endeavoured to attract colonists from Europe. Amongst others, 200 French Huguenots came to the Cape in 1688. Louis XIV., by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), had deprived his Protestant subjects of religious freedom. The more independent spirits left their homes, and, as many of them were practical farmers or skilled artisans, they were welcomed with open arms by every Protestant community, and were specially valued in a new country.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century the colony no longer depended for its growth upon immigrants only. The children of the earlier settlers were growing up, and as numbers increased the need for more land made itself felt. Pioneers began to open up the country. First went the hunters, who explored enormous tracts in pursuit of the ostrich, the elephant, and other game. Then came the graziers, occupying 5,000 or 6,000 acres, and paying a nominal rent to the Company. After them came the farmers, who also kept cattle, but built more substantial houses and tilled the soil. As the colony spread, some form of local government became essential. The Company's Governor and Council of Policy at Capetown appointed a Landdrost (bailiff) for each district, assisted by Heemraden, that is, five or six local burghers, selected by the Cape government to hold courts of justice and look after the interests of the Company in the district.

All this time the Hottentots had been dwindling. They caught small-pox from the Europeans, and some tribes died out altogether, to the great relief of their foes, the Bushmen. Meanwhile, the Bantu invasion of the Cape had begun. In 1736 the Kosas, leading the van of the migration southwards, fell upon and killed a party of Dutchmen hunting elephants. Soon after they began raiding the burghers near the Fish River and lifting their cattle. The farmers drove the Kosas back, but the Company refused help, blamed the settlers for their violence, and finally allowed the Kosas to settle between the Fish and Bushmen Rivers.

At this period the Dutch East India Company was tottering to its fall. Its trade had been ruined when Holland ranged herself as the ally of the United States of America in their revolt (1776) against Great Britain (see p. 63). The burghers of Cape Colony, whose demand for representation upon the Council of Policy had been ignored, were inspired by the example of the republican party in Holland to declare themselves independent. The Company could offer no resistance. In 1795, when England was fighting against revolutionary France and her allies, an English fleet took possession of

the Cape in the name of the fugitive Prince of Orange, and held it until it was restored to Holland by the Peace of Amiens in 1802.

In 1806, during the renewed war with Napoleon, Capetown was captured by the English, and the colony was finally ceded to Great Britain in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna (see p. 59). Thus, by the irony of fate, these burghers of mingled Dutch and French descent, who had donned the "tricoloured" cockade to show their sympathy with the revolutionaries of Europe, and so first brought the English fleet upon them, were compelled to submit to the rule of the bitterest enemies of France.

## CHAPTER III

BRITISH RULE DOWN TO THE "GREAT TREK"

British ideas and Dutch discontent—Emancipation of the slaves—The Bantu advance—British settlers—Missionaries—The inroads of the Zulus—The Boer trek.

The British were in no real sense enemies of the Boer colonists and had no intention of treating them badly, but public opinion in England, which was somewhat callous with regard to the treatment of children in English factories (see pp. 84, 85), was singularly sensitive about the treatment of natives by Boer farmers, and insisted on imposing in South Africa humanitarian standards which were not enforced at home. The Governor, moreover, was autocratic, legislating at first by proclamation,

and afterwards with a council of officials to help him. Even in 1834, when the Cape obtained a legislature as a Crown colony, the men who had to live under the administration had no means of controlling it.

To their intense disgust, a Hottentot police was established, and in 1827 the Dutch Landdrosts and Heemraden of the local districts were superseded by English Commissioners and resident magistrates. In the same year English was made the sole official language, and remained so until 1882.

Another grievance was the emancipation of the slaves, or rather the manner in which it was carried out. From the very foundation of the colony slaves had been imported, principally from Madagascar and Malaya. In 1806 further importation was forbidden. In 1834, after a year's notice, all slaves were emancipated, and both the notice and the compensation given seemed inadequate to their owners (see pp. 109, 290).

Most serious of all was the ever-pressing necessity of facing the advance of the Bantu. The British policy was to make friends with important chiefs, and to help them to hold their rivals in check. This involved the colony in native wars between chief and chief, and did not stop the border raids and reprisals. Four thousand British colonists, brought out in 1820-1821, were planted in Albany, on the Fish River frontier, but with so little effect that the colony was actually invaded by a body of 15,000 Kaffirs in 1834. Finally, when, in that year, Sir Benjamin D'Urban planned a buffer State, which should lie between the colony and the hostile tribes, his project was countermanded from Downing Street, and he himself recalled.

The love of the British and Moravian missionaries for the native peoples, to whom they nobly devoted their lives, and their accounts of the virtues of the more peaceful tribes, made many in England unwilling to believe evil of any of the dark folk. The dangers and difficulties of isolated settlers, face to face with fierce invading hordes, were not realized, and the blame for the perpetual and brutal border strife was laid upon the white colonists, more particularly the Dutch.

Such were the grievances of the burghers who determined upon the Great Trek. In 1836 they began to migrate from the Cape, resolved to try their fortune on the open veld and beyond the mountains. One great body trekked across the Drakensberg, towards the Indian Ocean; another crossed the Orange River; finally, some more adventurous spirits penetrated beyond the Vaal, far to the north.

Before we trace the growth of these settlements, each of which has played a large part in South African history, we must see why they found unoccupied fertile lands on which to settle.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Zulus, a branch of the Bantu, had formed a confederacy under Chaka. This chief armed his *impis*—regiments with distinguishing badges and shields—with the short stabbing assegai, and had swelled his armies by admitting into their ranks the young men of conquered tribes. With this powerful fighting machine at his back, he devoted himself to plunder and conquest. For his ferocity he was called the "Hyena-Man"; from his size, the

"Great Elephant." He destroyed 300 tribes, and depopulated the country in all directions; no native people could exist within his reach. In 1828 Chaka was assassinated by his brother Dingaan, who succeeded to his ruthless leadership. By 1834 the country lying east of the Drakensberg Mountains, now Natal, was a desert, where the few remaining natives subsisted on roots or resorted to cannibalism. The country to the west, between the Vaal and Orange Rivers, now the Orange Free State, had been completely devastated by tribes flying from the Zulus. The region farther north, between the Vaal and Limpopo, now the Transvaal, had been "eaten up," first by refugees from the Zulus, and then still more effectively by the Matabele, a part of the Zulu confederacy, who had, under Moselekatse, broken away from Chaka.

To these vacant lands the Boer families came in their tilted waggons, drawn by long teams of oxen, bringing with them flocks and herds and household goods. Each group of settlers made a constitution for itself—a President chosen by the people, a Volksraad, or assembly, and a system of local government and defence, with Landdrosts, Heemraden, Field-Cornets, and Commandants. Each State made good its footing by a signal victory. Natal dates its existence from "Dingaan's Day" (1838); the Orange Free State from the Battle of Winburg (1837); the Transvaal from the defeat of the Matabele on the Marikwa River (1837).

## CHAPTER IV

### CAPE COLONY

Boundaries—Methods of government—The Kaffir wars—Basutoland — Griqualand — Bechuanaland — Political parties at the Cape—The action of the Colonial Office—Cecil Rhodes.

CAPE COLONY, which the Great Trek had deprived of so many of its inhabitants in 1837, was on two of its boundaries very ill defined. The Keiskama River had been declared to be the eastern frontier, but the country to the north up to the Orange River was not claimed until 1847; while Hottentots were left in undisturbed possession of the west until 1852, when the discovery of copper in Namaqualand caused a rush of prospectors thither.

The colonists who resided within these frontiers were still governed in a way that did not satisfy the sturdy independence of Dutch or English. The Governor was assisted by a council, consisting of his own officials, with from five to seven selected inhabitants. No one else had any constitutional method, except petition, of expressing his desires. Thus, in 1849, when the Home government endeavoured to land convicts, the colonists were obliged to resort to violence to force the Governor to prevent it. At length, in 1853, England was convinced that it was time to allow the colony some measure of self-government. Accordingly, it was granted a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly, both elected by voters with a property

qualification, without distinction of race or colour. The administration, however, remained in the hands of officials appointed by the Crown, who were not responsible to the parliament of the Cape.

In 1872 the final step towards responsible government was taken. It was provided that ministers should be selected from the party with a majority in the Assembly. In 1892 the franchise was restricted to adult males who could sign their names and write down their addresses and employments, and who were occupiers of house property with £75 per annum, or received £50 per year as wages or salary. This measure was intended to lessen the strength of the native vote.

The Cape government has had to face the native problem throughout its history. On the eastern coast Kaffir war followed Kaffir war in monotonous succession, until the main Kosa tribes committed "racial suicide" in 1856. Their witch doctors promised a complete victory over the whites if they would destroy their own cattle and crops; they did so, and perished from starvation. The Kaffirs under the control of the Cape are now settled in Pondoland and Griqualand East, upon the north-eastern coast, near the frontier of Natal.

Amongst the southern ranges of the Drakensberg Mountains, the Basutos, a mixed Bantu race, found themselves hemmed in by the Orange Free State on one side and the Cape on the other. Their great leader, Moshesh, had defended from all comers the remnant of his peoples who had not been destroyed by Chaka, the Zulu. He found it necessary to fight

with the Cape twice and with the Orange Free State three times in the course of his reign—1820-1870. On his death Basutoland was annexed to the Cape, but after a revolt in 1880 was transferred to the Imperial government, which appoints a Resident Commissioner, and thus controls the administration of the chiefs. The people pay a hut-tax and obey Bantu law. They are now becoming civilized, educated, and Christian. Forty thousand Basutos, on ponies, offered themselves to fight for the British in the great Boer War, but no native help could be accepted against a white foe.

On the north-east of Cape Colony lies Griqualand West, inhabited by a mixed native race. In 1870 the discovery of diamonds around Kimberley made the question of its frontiers of supreme importance. The Orange Free State, the Transvaal, and the Cape all desired to own the mines. The dispute was settled by the Governor of Natal, who was called in to arbitrate, and decided that the mines lay in Griqualand; whereupon the British annexed it within four days, though they afterwards paid £100,000 as compensation to the Orange Free State. In 1880

The route to the Zambesi for hunters from the Cape who wished to avoid the Transvaal lay to the northwest, through the territory of the Bechuanas. But the Boers objected to anybody except themselves creeping along the edge of the Kalahari Desert towards what is now Rhodesia, and seemed inclined to claim control over Bechuanaland. It was therefore taken over by the British in 1884: the southern portion

was annexed to the Cape in 1805; the northern

it was incorporated in Cape Colony.

remains a protectorate, and has been extended northward to the Zambesi.

Thus Cape Colony gradually widened her boundaries, not without quarrels between political parties and with the Colonial Office. The great differences between parties in the Cape have been with regard to expansion and to relations with other States in South Africa. Sympathy with the Dutch burghers and a desire to combine with them in the management of South African affairs gradually formed the party known as the Bond. Its opponents were the Progressives, who desired to press on expansion of every kind under British protection.

Cecil Rhodes, who was Prime Minister from 1890 to 1896, succeeded in securing support from both parties, and he enlarged, defined, and pressed upon Great Britain those views of a united South Africa which had animated the great Governors of the past. Sir Harry Smith, Sir George Grey, Sir Bartle Frere-all these had been in turn recalled or superseded as High Commissioner of South Africa, an office usually held by the Governor of the Cape, for their forward Imperial policy. Throughout the history of British rule in South Africa the colonial authorities at home had shrunk from boldly facing the responsibilities forced upon them, as the colonies, consisting of European settlers of divers nationalities, grew larger, and their difficulties increased in face of native peoples so various, so warlike, and so able. When the Colonial Office did finally resolve upon a comprehensive course of action, it was generally too late to prevent

friction and misunderstanding. Cecil Rhodes determined that all this should be changed; but his complex and daring schemes, which included the support of the discontented foreign element in the Transvaal, the settlement of Rhodesia, and a railway from the Cape to Cairo, were checked by the rash experiment of the Jameson Raid, and he was forced to resign the Premiership of Cape Colony. He died in 1902, and was buried in the Matoppo Hills (see p. 238).

## CHAPTER V

#### NATAL.

Early history—The Boer immigrants—Dingaan—Annexation-Native troubles and Sir G. Wolseley-Responsible government—Indian labourers—The Zulu War.

THE first section of the Great Trek crossed the Drakensberg to the north-east in 1837, into the country under the dominion of Dingaan, the Zulu. They found white men there already. A party of settlers, under Harry Flynn, had in 1824 obtained from Chaka, Dingaan's brother and predecessor (see p. 219), a grant of land at Port Natal, on the Indian Ocean, and had gathered round them a number of native followers. They were leading the lives of petty chiefs, and were assisting Dingaan in his wars. In 1835 they had requested Sir Benjamin D'Urban to receive them as a British colony, and had named their first town after him. He, as Governor of the Cape, had agreed, but the Home government, horrified at such expansion, withheld their permission.

Dingaan received the Dutch settlers with assumed friendliness, while he set himself to destroy them. His treachery and his massacres only roused more burghers, under the elder Pretorius, to come across the mountains and avenge their kinsmen. The Zulus were defeated at Blood River on "Dingaan's Day," December 16, 1838. Panda, his brother, revolted against Dingaan, and allied with the Boers. He destroyed Dingaan's power, and became chief of the Zulus until 1872. Pretorius declared Natal an independent republic, bounded on the north by the Tugela and Buffalo Rivers.

The new State promptly became involved in hostilities with the natives to the south, in the gap between Natal and Cape Colony. The British government as promptly interfered, and, after some fighting, annexed Natal (1844) as a dependency of the Cape. Those of the burghers who would not submit retired across the Drakensberg. The Bantu peoples, who had remained in the country during the Zulu domination, or entered it after the defeat of Dingaan, were allotted seven locations, about onesixth of the colony, where Kaffir law and custom was administered by their chiefs, though a huttax had to be paid to the colony. European magistrates were appointed in the largest locations. The natives, released from the fear of the Zulus, increased rapidly. In 1852, out of 121,000 inhabitants in Natal, there were only 8,000 whites. In 1873 the Kaffirs of Natal revolted against government interference, under Langalibalele. Sir Garnet

Wolseley was sent out as temporary Governor in 1875, and the power of the chiefs was afterwards

greatly curtailed.

In 1848 Natal was granted a Legislative Council, nominated by the Crown; six years later a system of local self-government was inaugurated. Natal was separated from Cape Colony in 1856, and twelve elected members were added to the Legislative Council. In 1893 she obtained responsible government. The Legislative Council is nominated by the Governor, with the advice of his ministers; the Legislative Assembly is elected, and the ministry is chosen from the party having a majority in it.

In 1862 coolies were first imported from India to work on the plantations of sugar, coffee, cotton, and arrowroot. They are brought on a system of indenture, that is, after working a certain number of years they become free to settle in the colony,

though they cannot become its citizens.

Natal's most dangerous neighbours, the Zulus, remained peaceful for many years in their own territory on the northern frontier; but on Panda's death, in 1872, his son and successor, Cetewayo, set about reviving the old military system of the terrible Chaka (see p. 218). He was ordered to desist, but treated the ultimatum of the High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, with contempt. Cetewayo's quarrel was really with the Transvaal Boers, who had seized part of Zululand; but the Transvaal had been annexed by the British (see p. 230), who thus became involved. Lord Chelmsford invaded Zululand, and his camp was destroyed, with the loss of 560 whites; but the heroic defence of Rorke's Drift

checked the victorious advance of the Zulus upon Natal, and their power was completely broken at Ulundi (July 4, 1879). After various experiments, it was found necessary to annex Zululand, and a British Commissioner was stationed there. The country was handed over to Natal in 1807.

### CHAPTER VI

### THE ORANGE FREE STATE

First settlers and the natives-Annexation-Evacuation -The Orange Free State-The war of 1899-1902.

THE Dutch farmers who had trekked northwards in 1837 to seek independence found themselves opposed by the Matabele, a ferocious section of the Zulu hordes, who under Moselekatze had broken away from Chaka (see p. 219). Three pitched battles forced the Matabele to retire behind the River Limpopo. The burghers at once set up a republican form of government, and founded Bloemfontein, their capital. Their first action was to despatch volunteers to avenge the massacres in Natal (see p. 225). Many of these burghers did not return, but settled north of the River Vaal, thus forming a link between Winburg, the centre of the Orange River settlement, and Potchefstroom, where the Transvaalers had established themselves (see p. 229).

The independence of the republic was short-lived. In 1848 Sir Harry Smith, Governor of Cape Colony, declared that all the territory between the Orange and Vaal Rivers was British. This was too much for many of the Boer settlers; they rebelled, and after a sharp struggle were defeated, and trekked over the Vaal.

The new British possession was put under a High Commissioner and Legislative Council, and English settlers arrived in considerable numbers. But a Basuto War broke out in 1851-1852 (see p. 222), and the Home government did not feel equal to the task of guarding the new "sovereignty." It was renounced in 1854, and the settlers. Dutch and British, were left to make arrangements for their own government and protection.

This task they undertook with success, forming the Orange River Free State, with a President and Volksraad, elected by the people. The country was organized on a military basis, every man between the ages of sixteen and sixty being liable to service. The Basuto and Griqua were alike driven back; relations with the Transvaal for the most part remained close and friendly; disputes with the Cape, particularly in connection with the diamond-fields (see p. 222), were settled without open conflict, and even proposals for federation were entertained. Material prosperity was steadily increasing, and markets for produce were opening out as the railway reached Bloemfontein, when the quiet success of the little community was temporarily shattered by the outbreak of the great war, in which the burghers felt it their duty to take their stand by the side of their kinsfolk of the Transvaal.

## CHAPTER VII

## THE TRANSVAAL

First settlers—Treatment of the natives—Annexation— Revolt—Majuba and the South African Republic— Kruger—The discovery of gold.

THE Boer victories over the Matabele at the time of the Great Trek (see p. 219) had cleared the land north of the Vaal. The first settlers in that district, under Commandant Potgieter, founded Potchefstroom, and were soon reinforced by malcontents from the Orange River and Natal (see pp. 225, 227). By the Sand River Convention of 1852 the farmers beyond the Vaal were recognized by the British government as an independent people; but it was not until 1857 that they succeeded in drawing up a constitution for themselves. Then a Volksraad was instituted, elected by "burgher franchise"that is, by all white persons over twenty-one years of age who had been born within the State, who possessed land property within it, or who had resided within it for a year. Pretoria became the capital in 1860.

The new republic had pushed farther than any other settlement into the midst of the powerful Bantu tribes; it was therefore peculiarly liable to attack. War with the natives on the part of one State in Southern Africa often roused ill-feeling against all whites in whatever State they might live. The Transvaalers were accused of stirring up trouble by their treatment of the natives, particularly by

their system of "apprenticing." The labour thus obtained was compulsory and unpaid, but was not absolute slavery, as the "apprentice" was released after a term of years, sometimes with a gift of cattle. Furthermore, the republic was torn by internal dissensions, and its government was unstable. Accordingly, in 1877, when the Boers quarrelled violently with the Zulus, some of whose lands they had appropriated, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, an emissary of Downing Street, proclaimed the annexation of the country by Great Britain under the title of the Transvaal Territory. A British force was sent to subjugate the Zulus, who, under Cetewayo, had become a general danger (see p. 226).

By 1880 the Boers were, however, thoroughly discontented with British rule. Their freely elected Assembly had been taken away from them, and they were ill pleased with the constitution of a Crown colony. Accordingly, they raised once more the flag of the republic, on the anniversary of Dingaan's Day, under the command of Joubert, Paul Kruger, and Pretorius, son of the old hero. They defeated the British in four engagements, of which the last and most important was Majuba (February 27, 1881), when Sir Charles Colley, the British general, was killed, and his force of about 1,000 driven from

their position.

Immediately the British government granted to the Boers the independence they had claimed—selfgovernment under the suzerainty of the Queen of England. By the Convention of London (1884), the South African Republic was empowered to enter into treaties with foreign States and native tribes, on condition that they were approved first

by the British Crown.

Under the presidency of Paul Kruger, the South African Republic pursued an uneventful history, hampered by financial difficulties, until the discovery of gold and the foundation of Johannesburg changed the whole position of the country. The Administration had then to face a series of problems entirely strange to farmers who had remained so long shut off from the rest of the world. The further history of the Transvaal is the history of the South African War.

# CHAPTER VIII

### THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

The gold-mines—Uitlanders—The Jameson Raid—Outbreak of the war—Mafeking, Kimberley, and Ladysmith—Buller and his tactics—Lord Roberts—Paardeberg—The end of the war—Conciliation—Selfgovernment—The Union of South Africa.

Gold-mining in the Transvaal was not the individual, independent affair that it was in the early days in Australia or California. The metal is found sometimes near the surface, sometimes at a great depth in auriferous quartz, an exceedingly hard rock, which must be treated by scientific processes to extract the gold from it. The Reef land in the Transvaal was accordingly bought up by European companies, who raised immense capital to work their holdings. The Rand was filled with a foreign population, struggling to get rich, and caring little

for the country or the farmers who inhabited it. The Transvaalers did not feel inclined to give them a share in the management of the State, and accordingly raised the period of residence to qualify for a vote to five, and afterwards to ten, years.

On the other hand, they had encouraged the development of the gold mines, while they were unable to restrain their own officials, largely foreigners, from corruption and bribery. Monopolies were granted to private individuals in such commodities as sugar, paper, dynamite, and other articles in general use. The railways were grossly mismanaged, and efforts were made to destroy commercial dealings with the Cape by raising the duties and making communication impossible.

At last the feeling in the Cape and Natal, as well as among the "Uitlanders" (foreign residents), against the Transvaal administration became so strong that Cecil Rhodes, the Cape Prime Minister (see p. 224), considered that it might be possible to overthrow it by force. The attempt was made by Dr. Jameson, who crossed the border from Rhodesia with 485 men on December 29, 1895, expecting the "Uitlanders" to rise and join him. He was compelled to surrender, and was handed over to the British government, to be dealt with according to English law for attacking a friendly Power from British territory. This ill-advised attempt weakened for the time the hands of the British government in its efforts to secure better treatment for the Uitlanders. Sir Alfred (now Lord) Milner was sent out as High Commissioner to deal with the situation. In June, 1899, a conference

was held at Bloemfontein; but, in return for slight changes in the franchise, President Kruger demanded concessions which would have destroyed British suzerainty, as recognized by the Convention of London (see p. 230). Finally, British suzerainty was formally denied. The arrival of British troops precipitated matters, and the Transvaal issued an ultimatum requiring British troops to leave the frontier.

War broke out in October, 1899. At that time the Orange Free State had entered into close alliance with the Transvaal. Their joint forces numbered 87,000 men, almost all mounted and accustomed to life on the veld. The artillery had been raised in the towns, and was armed with modern guns, which had been secretly imported. A large proportion of the inhabitants of Cape Colony were Dutch by descent, and their attitude was considered doubtful; while the attitude of the natives was an unknown quantity to both parties.

The British garrison was only just strong enough to hold a few fortified positions until the arrival of reinforcements. Colonel Baden-Powell held Mafeking, far away on the north-west, in British Bechuanaland, with 1,500 men. Colonel Kekewich was shut up in Kimberley, with Cecil Rhodes and 2,000 men; while Sir George White, in Ladysmith, with 5,000 men, blocked the route into Natal. The Boers did not dare to leave behind them these forces and march straight to the ports. Accordingly, they besieged all three, but failed to capture any one of them. General Buller, on his arrival at Cape Town, with an army corps, despatched Lord Methuen to

the relief of Kimberley, Gatacre to Queenstown to repel the Free State invaders, and Clery to the relief of Ladysmith. But Methuen failed to get through, after heavy fighting at Modder River and Magersfontein against Cronje; Gatacre was repulsed with loss at Stormberg; Buller went in person to Natal, but, after three bloody engagements, was unable to pierce Botha's lines at the Tugela River. The war was at a standstill: the Boers could not capture the invested towns; the British could not relieve them.

Lord Roberts arrived in South Africa in January, 1900, with large reinforcements, including colonial volunteers from Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. With a force of 35,000 men, he pushed straight through to the Boer capitals, thus forcing the Boer generals to send back many of their troops and slacken their hold on Kimberley and Ladysmith. Cronje was caught at Paardeberg as he retired, and compelled to surrender, with 4,000 men. Bloemfontein and Pretoria, the capitals of the two Boer States, were entered, and Lord Roberts handed over to Lord Kitchener the task of concluding the war.

The task occupied two years. The Boers, breaking into comparatively small and immensely mobile parties, proved themselves masters of guerilla tactics; but they had no reserves, and a series of "drives" brought their numbers down to about 18,000. Peace was finally ratified on May 31, 1902, and the British government undertook to restore representative institutions as soon as possible.

Lord Milner was appointed Governor of both the

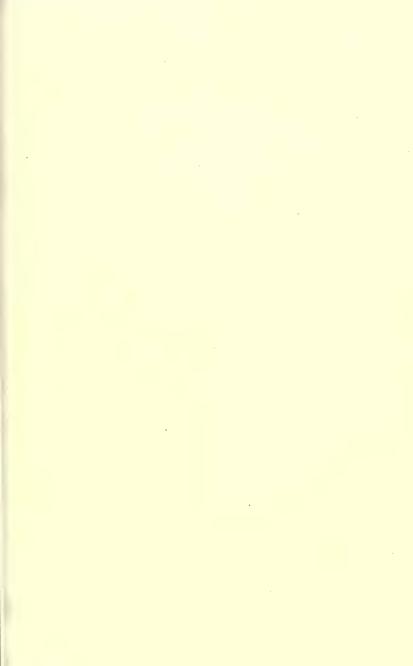
Orange River and the Transvaal Colonies. Efforts were at once made to repair the ravages of the war, to assist the farmers in rebuilding and restocking their farms, and to revive the industries of the Rand. The promise of representative government was redeemed with extraordinary rapidity. In 1906 all male British subjects, Dutch and English alike, who had resided in the country for six months were given the right to vote for members of the Assembly. The great Boer generals, Louis Botha and Christian de Wet, took office under the British Crown, the latter in the Orange River Colony, the former as Prime Minister in the Transvaal. Moreover, the representatives of the colonies of South Africa gathered during 1908 to consider the question of Federation or Union. Their proposals were brought before the British parliament in 1909, and approved without a single change. A united South Africa, the dream of many a far-sighted statesman, is now an accomplished fact.

By the South Africa Act of 1909 the old parliamentary systems of the colonies were swept away. In their place the Union of South Africa was established, and a constitution laid down for South Africa, consisting for the present of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal, and the Orange Free State. At the head of affairs is the Governor-General, appointed by the Crown. The two Houses of Parliament, known as the Senate and House of Assembly, consist of 40 and not more than 150 members respectively. Of the 40 senators, 8 are nominated by the Governor-General in Council; of the remainder, 8 from each province were elected by the united expiring Council

and Assembly of each colony—their last duty before their final dissolution. The senators of the Union are to hold their seats for ten years. At the next election the members of the Provincial Council of each province, together with the provincial members of the Union House of Assembly, will each elect their eight senators.

The members of the Union House of Assembly are elected for five years from the provinces in the following proportions: From Cape of Good Hope, 51; from Natal, 17; from Transvaal, 36; from the Orange Free State, 17. The qualification for sitting in either House of Parliament is five years' residence in the Union; a member must be a British subject, of European descent, and, in the case of a senator, must possess "immovable property." The qualifications for the elector are the same as those formerly in force in the various colonies. Special provision is made to safeguard the votes of natives in the Cape of Good Hope. All elections take place on the same day. Members of Parliament are paid £400 a year, with a fine of £3 a day for non-attendance.

At the head of each province is an Administrator, appointed by the Governor-General in Council. He is assisted by an Executive Council of four, chosen by the Provincial Council, which is elected in the same way as the Union House of Assembly. Rhodesia may become a member of the union, and the native territories, which at present are under the direct control of the Crown, may be transferred to the care of the Governor-General in Council. In that case the South Africa Act specially safeguards the rights of the natives with respect to the land they





DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

From the original oil portrait in the possession of Mr. Murray.

To face page 237.

hold and the taxes they pay. The sale of liquor to natives is stringently limited. All changes must be specially authorized by the Crown.

The Dutch and English languages are put on a precisely equal footing in all public business. Cape Town is the seat of the parliament, while Pretoria is the centre of administration, and Bloemfontein of judicature. The first parliament of the Union of South Africa was opened by the Duke of Connaught, the king's uncle, on November 4, 1910.

## CHAPTER IX

#### RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

A colony in the making—The early wars—Effect of the South African War—Natural resources—The control of the Chartered Company—Nyasaland.

RHODESIA is a colony in the making. The two great missionaries and explorers, Moffat and his son-in-law, Livingstone, were the first white men to give any account of this country, through which flows the great river Zambesi. It was Livingstone who, in his first journey in 1851, discovered the Victoria Falls. What is now called Rhodesia was then held in terror by the Matabele, rebel Zulus under Moselekatze, who had been driven by the Boers over the Limpopo (see p. 227), and had in their turn conquered the Mashonas and other older Bantu inhabitants.

The first European immigrants entered this land to search for gold, and farmers soon followed the

prospectors. In 1888 the country was declared to be "within the sphere of British influence." In the following year the British South Africa Company was granted a charter to develop and administer its resources. A pioneer column passed through Matabeleland up to Mashonaland, and founded the town of Salisbury. The Mashonas were encouraged by the presence and protection of the British to throw off the yoke of the Matabele. The result was the Matabele War of 1893. Lobengula, Moselekatze's son, was defeated, and his capital, Bulawayo, entered in triumph by a British force. Henceforth Matabeleland was also placed under the administration of the Company, and the name of Rhodesia given in 1895 to the whole country. The next year, at the time of the disastrous Jameson Raid, the Matabele again rose in arms, exasperated by compulsory labour in the mines and by the slaughter of their cattle to stop rinderpest. Cecil Rhodes went unarmed into their midst, and persuaded them to accept his terms. His monument in the Matoppo Hills commemorates the spot (see p. 224).

The development of Rhodesia was greatly hindered by the outbreak of the South African War. Since the peace its prosperity has increased by leaps and bounds. Native labour is difficult to obtain; nevertheless, telephones, telegraphs, and railways The towns are built of stone have been laid down. and brick, and boast of spacious churches, hospitals, and public buildings. Southern Rhodesia, which comprises Mashonaland and Matabeleland, is now administered by a Resident Commissioner, appointed

and paid by the Crown. He is assisted by an Executive Council, nominees of the Company, approved of by the Crown, and by a Legislative Council, of whom seven are elected, and six nominated by the Council. The two northern provinces, North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia, are each governed by an Administrator under the

Company.

Upon the north-east of Rhodesia lies the little British possession of Nyasaland, hardly the size of the British Isles. Discovered by Livingstone and colonized by missionaries, it was worked by the African Lakes Company under the name of British Central Africa. It was then organized by Sir Harry Johnston, and proclaimed a protectorate in 1891. Finally, in 1907, it was renamed and remodelled as a Crown colony. Its main feature is the great lake Nyasa, from which the Shere River flows into the Zambesi, near its mouth, and so into the Indian Ocean. The use of this route was secured to Great Britain by the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1891. Nyasaland possesses a railway and a steamboat service. Its population shows the state of colonization it has reached—600 Europeans, 500 Asiatics, and nearly 1,000,000 natives. Its chief products are coffee, cotton, and tobacco.

# CHAPTER X

## SOUTH AFRICA TO-DAY

Communications — Crops — Cattle and horses — Sheep — Ostriches—Minerals—Gold and diamonds.

SOUTHERN AFRICA is not connected by rivers or lakes forming a waterway, or by any cheap or easy means of transit. The fine harbours of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and Port London, communicate with the interior by means of a system of railways. Difficulties with regard to fuel and water have been largely overcome since 1875, and goods can now be carried to the sea by rail from Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, and even distant Bulawayo and Salisbury. From the Transvaal there is a shorter railway route to the sea, via the Portuguese harbour at Lourenco Marques, a fact of considerable importance before and during the war. The projected Cape to Cairo Railway has been carried over the Zambesi, just below the Victoria Falls, and is being pushed northwards towards Lake Tanganyika; a branch from Bulawayo to Beira, a port in Portuguese territory, gives Rhodesia access to the Indian Ocean. When Cecil Rhodes' great project of a trans-African line is completed, the towns of the Central African Plateau will be in direct communication with the Mediterranean.

The more southern portion of Africa is not, as a whole, remarkable for its fertility. Fruit-farming and vine-culture are developing industries, and an export trade is being encouraged; otherwise the wheat, maize, and dairy produce is only sufficient for home consumption. Most of this farming is restricted to the coastal plains of the south, to the narrow strip of upland in Natal, and to undeveloped Rhodesia, where cereals can be raised in the winter with the aid of artificial irrigation. Natal is semi-tropical for thirty miles inland, and produces tea, coffee, sugar, and bananas. The Transvaal, besides cereals, provides tobacco, sugar, coffee, bananas, pineapples, and oranges. The Orange Free State is suitable for all kinds of farming, but is handicapped by droughts, hailstorms, and clouds of locusts, which now and again devour every green thing in their path.

South Africa is pre-eminently a pastoral country, breeding horses, cattle, and sheep. The well-known breed of Cape horses has long been exported. There are several native breeds of cattle; imported varieties gradually lose their foreign characteristics. The Transvaal is an excellent pastoral country, but horses and sheep must be transferred from the Middle to the Higher Veld in the rainy season to avoid fever. Still farther north, Rhodesia, where the temperature is higher, is especially fitted for stock-raising. In Zululand and other territories set aside for natives, cattle are bred in large numbers, but are rarely used for food.

All through South Africa the stock-raising industry has been hampered by the diseases which sweep off thousands of cattle with appalling rapidity—rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia. All breeds suffer alike, native and imported. Rinderpest is exceedingly infectious, and it is often necessary to

slaughter all beasts that might carry infection—a serious cause of trouble with the natives, who fail to understand the reasons (see p. 238). As oxen are used for transport, the farmers suffer in every way when they lose their cattle. Efforts are being made to stamp out the disease scientifically, with a certain amount of success.

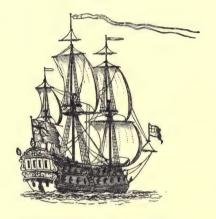
Sheep and goat farming engage the attention of all the colonies; imported Spanish merinos thrive as well as the Africander fat-tailed sheep. Ostrichfarming is mainly confined to the Cape, and is a most profitable industry. The industry arose about the year 1860, when the energy of hunters threatened to exterminate ostriches altogether, and Sir George Grey suggested scientific breeding.

At present the principal wealth of South Africa lies in her minerals. Coal, the most important of all minerals to secure continued industrial prosperity, is now mined in the Cape of Good Hope, in the Orange Free State, and in the Transvaal. In Rhodesia vast coal-fields have been discovered, and will doubtless eventually be utilized; copper and tin are worked in Namaqualand; while Rhodesia is rich in these metals, as well as in lead and iron.

South Africa owes some of her romance and most of her tragedy to diamonds and gold. Diamonds were first discovered on the banks of the Orange River in 1867. They were simply picked out of the yellow surface soil, and prospectors soon dotted the country with settlements, of which Barkly West was the chief. In 1870 far richer fields were discovered in Griqualand West, and did their share in fanning the feud between Boer and Briton (see p. 222). In addition to the trouble thus caused,

further disputes arose because the farms in the district were bought up by speculators, whose right to the land the miners would not allow. After the annexation by Great Britain, Griqualand West was declared officially to be a mining district, and claims were pegged out in accordance with mining law. The diggings were bought by various mining companies, which possessed sufficient capital to provide the machinery to reach the lower depths, where finer diamonds are found in the blue subsoil. These companies, in their turn, have been amalgamated by the De Beers Company, which now controls the output and limits it to keep up prices. Diamonds are also found near Pretoria.

Just as Kimberley is the centre of the Cape diamond mines, so Johannesburg is associated with the gold industry of the Transvaal. Gold-mining has been reduced to a fine art, and ore containing as little gold as 9 dwts. to the ton can be profitably treated. The industry provides occupation for a large number of men, skilled and unskilled. Johannesburg has a population of over 158,000, of whom 84,000 are of European race. Natives have always been employed for the unskilled labour. After the war it was found almost impossible to induce them to return to this uncongenial toil. Accordingly, in 1904 Chinese coolies were imported for a term of years. The experiment, though financially successful, has been condemned on other grounds, both in the colony and elsewhere. There are no States inhabited by Europeans which welcome to-day the arrival of an Asiatic population, especially where the country is still developing (see p. 187).



EAST INDIAMAN (CIRCA 1760).

# BOOK III

# INDIA, CROWN COLONIES, AND PROTECTORATES

- I. THE EMPIRE OF INDIA.
- II. THE EAST INDIES.
- III. THE WEST INDIES.
- IV. BRITISH EAST AND WEST AFRICA.
- V. BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.
- VI. SEA-LINKS OF THE EMPIRE.



MEDAL OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.



MEDAL OF CROMWELL

# I

# THE EMPIRE OF INDIA

# CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND NATIVE POPULATION

Boundaries — The Himalayas — Climate — The rainfall —Vegetation — Population — Immigrations and conquests—Religions.

INDIA is a peninsula cut off by nature from the rest of the world. South and west lies the ocean; on the north and east ranges of mountains offer an almost impenetrable barrier. The great Himalayas stretch from east to west, culminating in Mount Everest (29,000 feet), but continually attaining a height of some 16,000 feet. On the north-west frontier, where the mountains are comparatively low, they spread themselves to such an extent that a traveller from Europe would be obliged to push his way through 200 miles of mountainous country before he crossed the frontier. The ice and snow of the Himalayas are carried down to the sea by three enormous rivers—the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmaputra. East of the latter the ranges of the Patkoi and Arakan mountains run down from Tibet to the Bay of Bengal; beyond them, again, is the great fertile valley of the Irawadi, the principal

river and waterway of Burma. Still further east lie the mountains that divide British India from the empire of China and the kingdom of Siam.

South of the Himalayas the land drops to a low-lying plain, with the high ground of the desert of Thar dividing the fertile basin of the Ganges from the Punjab, the land of the five rivers. The rest of the Peninsula consists of the lofty tableland of the Deccan (2,000 to 6,000 feet), which slopes on all sides down to the sea—sharply on the west, gently on the east—leaving only narrow coastal plains. Its rivers, flowing through difficult defiles, are of little use as waterways.

With this rough sketch of the main features of the country, and with the knowledge that India is at the extreme south, only 570 miles from the Equator, while the northernmost portions, Cashmir and Chitral, are in latitude 37°, like Southern Spain, we can form some idea of the climate and vegetation. In climate, as well as in many other things, the great chain of mountains cuts off India from all connection with the rest of Asia. One would expect the south to be far hotter than the north, but the high elevation of the southern tableland keeps it comparatively cool, while in summer, when the sun is vertical over the Tropic of Cancer, the low-lying plains north of that region become intensely heated, and form an area of low pressure and uprising air.

Towards this area flows the air from the highpressure systems moving from subtropical latitudes northwards over warm seas, and consequently heavily laden with moisture. This brings the summer monsoons over nearly all India, carrying

with them the rain necessary for fertility. The monsoon coming from the south-west strikes the lofty ranges of the Western Ghats, so that on the coastal plains at their feet the rainfall is exceedingly heavy, from 100 to 200 inches, while on the Deccan tableland behind them it is but trifling, and in places no rain ever falls. Further north, where the monsoon meets no mountains until it blows upon the Himalayas, there is also very little rain. Over the east of India the moist inflowing air from the ocean is drawn in summer along the trough of the Ganges plain, or it strikes the mountains of Assam and Burma. On the former the rainfall is the heaviest in the world, 460 inches per year. Winter rains fall only in the extreme north and extreme south of India.

The character of the vegetation is controlled by the amount of moisture and by the elevation of the country. For example, the southern part of the Thar Desert lies in similar latitudes to parts of Bengal, but the former gets next to no rain, while the latter is moist and fertile. Some of the moist parts of India are well wooded, and tropical forests and jungle exist in many localities. The character of the crops depends largely on the temperature. Only in the North and the Central Provinces is the climate cool enough for wheat, even in the winter; the wellwatered lowlands and deltas, where the temperature is uniformly high, yield cocoanuts, tobacco, rice, and oil-seeds. Opium, jute, and indigo are cultivated in the Ganges lowlands, while tea is grown on the well-watered and well-drained slopes of Assam, Darreeling, and Ceylon, and coffee in Mysore. Rubber has taken its place elsewhere. The staple foods of the people are rice and millet—a form of cereal which, like the cotton-plant, flourishes in dry regions amidst considerable heat.

The population numbers upwards of 315,000,000, and is densest in the fertile lands of Bengal, Behar, and Oudh. It comprises seven main types. earliest inhabitants seem to have been a short, black race, known as Munda-Dravidian (see p. 169). They are the underlying basis of the whole Indian population to-day, and their race still exists unmixed in wild hill-tribes, and amongst the natives of the Deccan. In bygone ages yellow Mongolian settlers swarmed in upon the Dravidians from the far East, bringing with them their own customs and religious beliefs; whilst race after race of fair-skinned peoples, known as Arvans, invaded them from the northwest. These Aryans are confidently affirmed to be of the same race as the inhabitants of Europe. They came in successive waves, and mixed to a greater or less degree with the earlier inhabitants. From the north-west also came a Scythian race of Central Asia, horsemen, using bows and arrows, of medium stature and fair colour, with broad heads and little hair on their faces. Yet another race, of Turkish and Persian blood, fairly tall, with light complexions, narrow and prominent noses, and grey eyes, inhabit the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. Add to all these the descendants of the Mohammedan invaders, Arabs, Afghans, Turks, and Tartars, who swept over the land from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries, and finally, under Akbar, the Great Moghul, founded an empire, which the

Persians destroyed, and we see the folly of considering the inhabitants of India as of one race and history. Neither, of course, is one language or one religion common to all these mixed races. One hundred and forty-seven languages are spoken in India, akin to perhaps every group of human speech, and differing from one another as much as English from Greek or German from Hungarian.

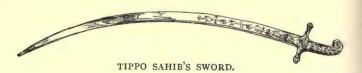
The variety of religions is equally striking. Onefifth of the people are followers of Mohammed the Prophet; 3,000,000 worship God under the symbol of fire, and are known as Parsis. The vast majority believe in some form of Hinduism or Brahmanism. This Arvan faith, dating back thousands of years, teaches the existence of a Trinity and also of a multitude of gods and goddesses of different ranks, to whom worship and sacrifices are to be offered in accordance with the ancient sacred books, the Vedas, Furthermore, it divides the people into castes, divisions first according to birth, and then according to occupations. A Brahman, or member of the priestly caste, expects reverence from all around him; even a member of a lower caste must observe innumerable rules of life and conduct. A devout worshipper must spend years of his life in meditation and prayer, devoting himself in his old age to the task of getting rid of all earthly passions. Hinduism teaches the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which means that each soul after death is reborn into animal, human, or divine form according to its actions in the last state of existence.

In the fifth century before Christ two great re-

ligious reformers arose among the Hindus. One, Mahavira, taught that the temperate man who injured no living thing might escape rebirth and go straight to heaven. There are still 1,500,000 of his followers, Jains, who eat no meat. The second great reformer was Prince Gautama, the Buddha. He did not trouble his followers about the existence of higher powers, but taught how this life on earth was to be lived. The great brotherhood of men and women that he founded wandered through India, spreading the new gospel. Man was not to look for salvation to priest or sacrifice, but simply to follow the eightfold path of right speech and action, right belief and aims, right living and endeavour, right mindfulness and meditation. In some 200 years the new faith established itself throughout the country, and, indeed, throughout the East; but it degenerated into Buddha worship and faded away, until to-day there are hardly 10,000,000 Buddhists in India, and these are mainly to be found in Burma and the Himalayas. Brahmanism took its place once more as the chief religion of India—a compound of strange superstitions and lofty ideals, the highest philosophy mingled with the blind worship of images.

Of late years Christianity has made considerable progress: at present about I per cent. of the population are professing Christians, and the number is

gradually increasing.



## CHAPTER II

### HISTORY

Alexander the Great—The Portuguese—The Dutch—The English East India Company—The Great Moghul—The French—Dupleix and Clive—Plassey—Warren Hastings—French efforts to regain a footing—Treaty of Bassein—Afghanistan—The Mutiny—Frontier troubles on the north-west—Annexation of Burma.

Before the sea route to India was discovered, the country was closed to Europeans. Alexander the Great, indeed, in 327 B.C. had entered India along the Kabul River, and won two great victories, but after his death hardly a European traveller reached India. Phœnician and Arab traders conducted caravans to the Levant or to the shores of the Black Sea, bringing silks, spices, gold, and precious stones to Europe; but the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 closed this land route, and forced the sailors of Europe to seek a way by which these treasures might be obtained by sea. It was to find a sea-route to India that Columbus sailed across the Atlantic.

In 1498 Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese seaman, reached Calicut, after rounding the Cape of Good Hope (see p. 213), and for the next hundred years the rich trade with India remained in the hands of the Portuguese, till they were conquered by the Spaniards in 1580. With the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the sea, in the words of Elizabeth, "became common to all men," and English ships could sail

round the Cape of Good Hope to take their share in the risks and the rewards of eastern trade.

But the enterprise was too hazardous for a single merchant to undertake alone: the voyage was long, the perils were many—from the sea, from pirates, and from rivals who declared that there was no law beyond the Cape. Accordingly in 1500 a hundred merchants assembled together in London and subscribed \$30,000. Elizabeth granted them a charter, with the sole right of trading in the East, of making peace and war with any power not Christian, and of governing their own servants by their own by-laws (see p. 48). The East India Company fought its way to a trading station at Surat against Portuguese war-ships, and presently it obtained Bombay from Charles II., who had received it as part of the dowry of his wife, Catherine of Portugal. It also obtained the permission of the Great Moghul to trade throughout his Indian empire, bought a strip of land on the east coast, and founded the trading station known later as Madras, and a settlement at the mouth of the Ganges, which became Calcutta. Thus by 1700 it was established in three main centres, and already the English economist Davenant dreamed that by "the full possession of India and its trade, England could get command of the sea and hold a large fleet, so that it might be as Rome, the head of a vast dominion." The Portuguese were beaten, the Dutch navy and their great East India Company, founded in 1602, had declined, and now England was to obtain command of the seas and of India by the defeat of the French; for the French, with their trading settlements on the east coast of the Indian peninsula, had taken the field as her rivals.

It was not as trade rivals alone that the two Powers were now face to face. India was "a ripe artichoke," ready for "tearing leaf from leaf." The great Mohammedan Moghul empire, with its capital at Delhi, was falling to pieces; its subject Princes were asserting their independence and quarrelling with each other. A strong hand was needed to hold the country together, and that hand was to be European.

Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondicherri, was the first to commit himself to alliance with the natives, and a definite interference in their quarrels. He grasped the fact that Indian troops disciplined on Western methods were a match for many times their number of native levies, and he was delighted to assist his allies with these sepoys, as they were called. The outbreak of war between France and England in 1741 (see p. 56) gave him a pretext for attacking the English and their native allies in India; and though the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) hindered his schemes for a short time, he soon contrived to force his rivals to take part in native quarrels for the throne of Haidarabad; in this way he hoped to assert the supremacy of the French by placing their nominee on the throne and laying the foundations of a French empire.

A young English clerk in the employ of the East India Company, Robert Clive, rose to the crisis. Leading the Company's sepoys, he captured Arcot, the capital of a French nominee for the throne of the Carnatic, in 1751, and finally forced the French East

India Company, in a panic at the expenses of the war, to recall Dupleix, and to renounce for the time their ambitious plans. The outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe (see p. 56) gave the French one more chance to win India; but the Battle of Wandewash, 1760, put an end to French hopes. Henceforward the British struggle was to be against native rulers who refused to accede to the demands of the East India Company.

The struggles with the French had taken place in the Carnatic, the south-east coastal plain of the Deccan: the trouble with the native Princes broke out first in Bengal. There Surajah Dowlah attacked Fort William at Calcutta, and forced the little garrison of 200 to surrender (June, 1756). He shut up his prisoners, 146 men and women, in a room 18 feet square. The next morning only twenty-three came out alive from this "Black Hole." When the news reached Madras. Clive collected what troops he could gather, and sailed up to avenge the massacre. At Plassey (June, 1757) 3,000 British soldiers, with 2,000 native supports, put to flight Surajah Dowlah's vast army of 53 guns, 15,000 horse, and 35,000 foot. All the guns were captured, and Clive lost but fifty-two of his men. fertile plains of Bengal were the spoils of the victors.

The Great Moghul still reigned at Delhi, though his power had long been nominal; but his name was used for a great effort to drive the English into the sea. The Moghul, defeated at the Battle of Buxar in 1764, ceded his sovereignty over a large portion of India in return for a guarantee of secure possession of certain provinces. Many rajahs re-





Photo, Emery Walker.

WARREN HASTINGS.

From the portrait by Laurence, National Portrait Gallery.

To face page 257.

mained sovereigns of their own territories, under the suzerainty of the Company, which thus took the place of the Great Moghul as their feudal lord.

The first servant of the East India Company who was called Governor-General of India was Warren Hastings (1772). He organized the administration of the country on the present system, but in a forcible fashion, and was obliged on more than one occasion to employ the troops of "John Company" to carry out his schemes. An outcry was raised against him in England, and on his return he was impeached before the House of Lords on charges of injustice, massacre, and torture. The charges have since been shown to be ill-founded, but Macaulay has rendered them famous to all English-speaking nations by his celebrated Essay on Warren Hastings. It must be remembered that during the years of Hastings' governorship England was engaged in the disastrous war with her American colonies and afterwards with France (see pp. 57, 63). The latter made efforts to stir up certain rajahs against English rule, with such success that the Council in Madras sat watching the flames of the surrounding villages. But the French fleet was kept in check by Admiral Hughes, so that no French aid was able to reach Haidar Ali, Sultan of Mysore, and chief of the malcontents.

After his death (1782) his son Tippoo made another effort to throw off British dominion with the help of the French, who in the early days of Napoleon (see p. 58), cast once again longing eyes on the India they had lost. Lord Wellesley, assisted by his brother, afterwards Duke of Wellington,

destroyed the power of Tippoo, and in 1801 deprived the Vizir of Oudh of a large part of his territory.

Wellesley's last and greatest task was the subjugation of the Mahrattas, a race of horsemen who had overrun north and central India, and formed a confederacy of powerful states. They refused the Company's alliance, and the Great Moghul was in their hands. These dangerous foes were defeated at the battles of Assaye and elsewhere, and the Moghul Emperor placed under the control of the Company, so that in future no one could use his name and authority. The Treaty of Bassein, 1802, marks the final establishment of British paramountcy in India; no power remained strong enough to face the Company in open war with any hope of success, though the Sikhs and Gurkhas continued its bitter enemies until 1849, when their last rising was crushed at Guirat.

The frontiers of British India were, however, by no means secure. On the east, the King of Burma threatened to invade Bengal, was conquered in 1824, and Assam was annexed. On the north-west, Russia had pushed down through Asia to the frontier of Afghanistan; once in possession of that country, she would be able to pour her armies through the passes into India at any moment. The British, therefore, attempted to enter into alliance with Dost Mohammed, Amir of Afghanistan, but without success; so they sent an expedition in 1839 to seize Kabul, the capital, and depose him in favour of a rival prince. After two years Kabul suddenly burst into fierce revolt against the British occupation, killed the agents, and expelled the troops, who,

with 12,000 camp followers, were massacred, all but one, in their attempt to regain India. A British army was sent to avenge the disaster, but retired, leaving Dost Mohammed on the throne.

When India seemed "at peace within and without," the most terrible danger since the loss of Calcutta was at hand. Lord Dalhousie (Governor-General, 1848-1856) was a great administrative reformer, but he departed from the British policy laid down by parliament in Pitt's India Act of 1784, that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion are measures repugnant to the wish, honour, and policy of the nation." He annexed seven important Indian States, and every remaining native ruler felt insecure. A general ferment of unrest was at work under the surface. Western civilization, with its trains, telegraphs, and irrigation canals, was upsetting the minds of the natives, bound by old custom and tradition. It was said that the British were endeavouring to destroy caste; it was prophesied that the British dominion would end a hundred years after Plassey. In the army the old pattern of "Brown Bess" musket was being replaced by the Enfield rifle, which required cartridges greased at the end to be bitten off at the moment of loading. The sepoys discovered that the grease was beef or pork fat, and therefore forbidden to Hindus and to Mohammedans by their respective religions. The high-caste sepoys from the newly annexed province of Oudh resented British interference with their land system, and also the ordinance of the new Governor-General, Canning, that they must be prepared to serve overseas, which their caste regulations forbade. Thus the native army was brought into the movement—an army of a quarter of a million—against a British garrison of 45,000. The sepoys remembered their victories over the most warlike races of the land during the past years, and forgot how much they had owed to British officers. Urged on by the sons of the Moghul Emperor and the discontented Mahratta chief, Nana Sahib, they determined to revolt and drive the British from India.

The Mutiny broke out at Meerut in September, 1857, and rapidly spread through the provinces of Agra and Oudh. The mutineers captured Delhi and Cawnpore, and besieged Lucknow, which held out heroically. The British hurried up troops from loyal districts, sent to England for reinforcements, relieved Lucknow, besieged and recaptured Delhi and Cawnpore, and broke the back of the Mutiny after six months of desperate fighting, though the Mahrattas of the Central Provinces held out some time longer.

The Mutiny had made it clear that British India had outgrown the rule of the East India Company. Since Pitt's India Act the Company had been assisted by a Board of Control appointed by the Crown; now the whole administration, civil and military, was transferred to the government of Great Britain. Its first care was to remove a main cause of discontent by guaranteeing the continued existence of the feudatory native states under British suzerainty, even though the ruler should leave no direct heirs or actually revolt against British rule. This policy has been completely successful in

securing the loyalty of the native states, and subsequent wars in India have been the result of frontier troubles.

On the north-west frontier the fear of Russian advance has ever been before the eyes of the Indian administration. In 1878 it was discovered that a Russian envoy was received at Kabul, though no English representative was allowed there. War was therefore declared on the Amir of Afghanistan, and a British army, under Sir Frederick (now Earl) Roberts, was sent to Kabul to install a new ruler. The Afghans resisted, but their victorious progress from the south-west was cut short by Roberts after a marvellous march with 10,000 men from Kabul to Kandahar, 300 miles in thirty days. Friction between Russia and Britain continued for some time, but latterly the limits of Russian influence have been clearly laid down, and disturbances on the frontier have had only local importance.

The eastern frontier has been largely extended by the annexation of Burma in 1885, in consequence of the impossible conduct of King Theebaw. It is a land of great natural wealth, with gold and ruby mines, petroleum wells, rice and cotton fields, and fine waterways. Its possession has brought us into contact with Siam (see p. 276), which is under French protection, but differences between the two powers have been peacefully arranged by diplomacy.

India seems at the present day to have reached her natural limits of expansion. The Viceroy rules over her outposts—Perim and Aden at the southern entrance of the Red Sea, Socotra and the Laccadives in the Sea of Arabia, and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal—but his main task is to administer the vast country whose present condition we now proceed to describe.

### CHAPTER III

#### INDIA TO-DAY

Methods of government—The Secretary of State for India
—The Viceroy and his Councils—The law-courts—
The army—The Indian Civil Service—Native life under
British rule—The native States—Agriculture and the
land system—Growth of large towns—Commerce—The
currency—Railways—Famines and irrigation—Results
of British rule—Native discontent: its causes; its extent—Impossibility at present of independence—India's
place in the Empire.

As may be readily imagined from its history, India requires a very special form of government. The gradual growth of a definite British policy with regard to problems of frontiers, native states, mixed races, and hostile religions, makes it clear that no simple scheme of government is possible.

The Secretary of State for India, always a member of the Cabinet, is directly responsible to the British parliament for all his acts and for every order he may send to India. He is assisted in London by a Council of fourteen, who are chosen for their experience of India or their knowledge of that country. The Secretary is the ultimate authority, though the Council has control over expenditure and a voice in matters which do not call for prompt action. All laws and regulations passed in India

have to be submitted to him for his approval. He presents an annual report to parliament. As he is a member of the Cabinet, and as the Cabinet is responsible to parliament, the British parliament is in the end the ruling power in India.

In India the Viceroy is the representative of George V., Emperor of India (Queen Victoria assumed the title "Empress of India" in 1876). The Viceroy is assisted in administration by his Executive Council, of six members, besides the Commander-in-Chief of the army in India as an extraordinary member for military affairs. For the purpose of making laws, there is the Legislative Council, consisting of the seven members of the Executive Council and sixty others; of these, twenty-five are now elected, and may be natives.

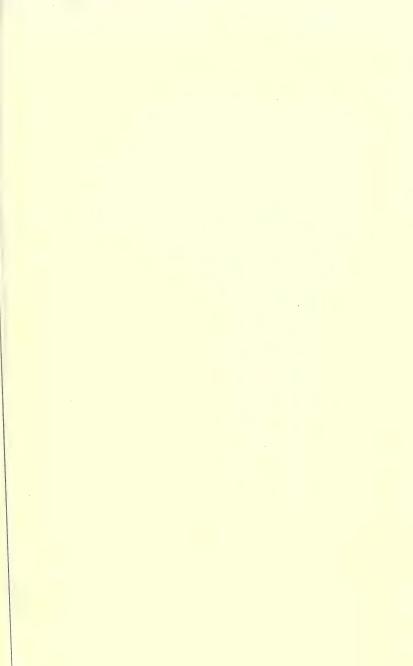
At the head of the judicial system is the English Privy Council. Next to it rank the High Courts of Justice in India, where sit judges chosen from amongst English barristers, well-tried Indian Civil servants, and duly qualified natives. There are also judges of local courts in each district, most of whom for civil cases are Indians. The law has been simplified and made equal for natives and Europeans, but questions of inheritance, succession, marriage, and certain contracts, are decided for Hindus or Mohammedans in accordance with their own law.

The army is paid for out of Indian revenue, but is entirely officered by Englishmen. It consists of about 75,000 British, with 500 guns. In addition to this force, there are the sepoys, 158,000 strong, but with very little artillery, as well as the native States' contingents (see p. 266), and some volunteers.

The annual expenditure on the army amounts to £20,000,000. Considering the size of the country, the expense seems small to the military expert, who compares with it the expenditure of Russia (£39,000,000), or of Germany (£32,000,000). The army was reorganized by Lord Kitchener in 1908, with a view of greater preparedness for war, by training each division as a whole, and stationing it along one of the main railway routes.

Thus at the head of every branch of Indian affairs stand the British. Let us see what that means both for the Briton and for the native.

The English official, of which there are about twelve hundred, unless he is a member of one of the great Councils, will be allotted to one of the provinces, of which there are thirteen. In that province he will probably be stationed in a district; he may be Commissioner or Collector-Magistrate; in that case he will have almost absolute power over perhaps 500,000 people. He will see that the revenue is collected; in bad years he may remit some of it; he is chief magistrate; he is in control of the police, and can call in the military if he thinks it necessary. His life will vary immensely, according to the province, its population, and its climate. He may have a peaceful land to manage, where the people are quiet, hard-working farmers, or he may be on the frontier in charge of hot-blooded mountaineers, whose business in life was fighting, and whose pleasure was cattle-raiding before the days of the English "Raj." Or, again, a British official may be an engineer in charge of railways, roadmaking, bridge-building, or canal-digging. He may





Photo, Underwood & Underwood.

HINDU WOMEN SPINNING BESIDE THE OLD JAIN TEMPLE AT AMBER.

To face page 265.

be responsible for hundreds of square miles of the state forests. He may be a doctor or he may be an officer in charge of native police, whose duties extend far beyond the mere task of thief-catching. In nearly every case he will find himself cut off from his fellow-countrymen. If he is fortunate he may be at a station where there are perhaps thirty white men and women; but more often he is almost alone with his native subordinates, connected only by a telegraph-wire with the outside world.

For such posts the candidates are selected in England by searching examinations, for which the pick of the older Universities enter. The possibilities of promotion are good, the pay is heavy, and a pension certain if the successful candidate survives.

The Hindu villager no longer finds himself fleeced by the tax-collector, swooping down at unexpected moments, and with unlimited demands. Now he pays salt-tax and a land-tax, assessed with the utmost care, but claimed with unfailing regularity. In many districts canals now bring the water which will double his crops or save them from the perils of drought, while the train on the government railroads brings him into touch with outside markets. His stronger neighbour can no longer oppress him without the intervention of the police; on the other hand, the money-lender, who used to be restrained by the public opinion of the village, can now call in government help, and claim the last farthing before an unswerving magistrate. Still. underneath the surface the old life goes on. Trades are still hereditary: the son succeeds his father as the village weaver or the village barber; the

Brahman still claims to be of a superior race to the Sudra, divided from him by a long series of castes. The old idea of family life still holds good: relatives, even to the most distant connections, still can claim sympathy and help, while the widow is still doomed to a life of miserable servitude.

The network of British administration does not extend to the third of India still ruled by native princes. Their dominions vary in size from a great province to a couple of villages. Over these six hundred feudatory states Great Britain exercises a general supervision, which is carefully left undefined; but the ruler is advised by the British Resident not to build unauthorized fortifications, to oppress his people, or to waste his money to an unlimited extent. He is treated with the honours due to his rank, and is rewarded with decorations from his Emperor. Provision is made for the education of some of the young princes as Imperial officers. The native states are well contented with their position. They are guaranteed from invasion; they receive the advantages of railways, roads, and the increase of trade. Their loyalty weathered the storm of the Mutiny; and to-day they show a passionate devotion to the British Emperor of India and a pride in their position as sovereign allies of the Imperial Crown.

It is in the towns that the greatest changes wrought by British rule are to be seen. Calcutta is now the second city in the British Empire. Bombay and Madras are centres of modern industry, with toiling cotton and jute factories and crowded harbours. Nearly one-tenth of the whole trade of

the British Empire now passes through Indian ports. This sea-borne trade is greater than that of Australia and Canada combined; within the Empire it is second only to that of the United Kingdom. All this vast expansion of industry and commerce has grown up under the security of British rule in little more than half a century.

The railways are under the direct control of the Indian Government and yield a revenue of £5,000,000. Some 32,000 miles of railway are now open, and a fresh 1,000 miles are laid annually, at an estimated cost of £10,000,000 a year, with a prospect of a rapid increase. The money was borrowed in England by the government, and the whole business has proved most profitable to all concerned.

For certainly the last hundred years, if not longer, famines have been the scourge of the country. In 1770 one-third of the total population of Bengal is said to have perished from lack of food. Owing to the want of roads or other means of transport, one part of the country might be starving, while another had abundant crops. The government has now a complete scheme for dealing with these emergencies, and the numbers of deaths are now kept down by systems of relief works and free supplies of food. The wisest way of dealing with famine seems to be to prevent it; for this purpose, and to improve the general prosperity of the country, government has set on foot large irrigation works, canals, and reservoirs, which will supply water when the rains fail

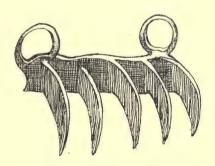
In addition to these material advantages, the British have brought Western knowledge to India

to supplement the ancient learning of the East. There are 150,000 schools and colleges at present, giving instruction to 5,000,000 children and students. A certain percentage also come over to Europe yearly to complete their education, and have won some of the highest University honours.

Such a record of progress and effort seems one of which any Empire might be proud. Peace reigns in India: racial feuds and religious quarrels no longer produce devastating wars; princes can no more fight for possession of a throne or violently oppress their wretched people. And yet there are signs of a movement of unrest in parts of the country. It may at one time be merely an appeal to the Indian to encourage native industry and boycott foreign goods; it may be a claim for more self-government or a greater share in the more highly paid official posts; it may even break out into sedition and murder. Undoubtedly there must be cause for all these signs of discontent. The government are meeting the more moderate demands at their own pace and in their own way. But on the question of leaving the Indian to govern India every statesman is agreed. The various races, separated by centuries of warfare, would spring at each other's throats as soon as a controlling power had disappeared. The cry for independence is not a united appeal. The Mohammedans, representing one-fifth of the most energetic and intelligent portion of the population, the native states constituting one-third of India, and the mountain races, prefer English rule to any other scheme that has yet been proposed.

If an Imperial parliament, representing the whole

Empire, be ever called together, the Asiatic portion of it, as Lord Salisbury said in 1891, must not be forgotten. The native of India is in all respects a British subject: he can, and has been, elected to the English House of Commons for an English constituency; yet in certain portions of the Empire he is treated as a menace, almost as an enemy. In Africa, as well as in Australia and New Zealand, all possible steps are taken to protect the white settler against the competition of the Indian, who, unfortunately, accepts lower wages, as he is contented with less food, clothing, and housing than the white. The Indian, as a subject of the British Crown, considers that he has a right to enter any portion of the King's dominions, and earn his livelihood there as seems fit to him. The two points of view are typical of the difficulties of an Empire which contains so many races within itself.



INDIAN TIGER-CLAW DAGGER.

## H

## THE EAST INDIES

## CHAPTER I

#### CEYLON

Physical features—Native races—The Portuguese—The Dutch—English occupation—Government—Present population—Products.

Although Ceylon is so close to India, it is separately administered under the control of the Colonial, and not of the India, Office. Geographically it is severed from India by Palk Strait, but the water is so shallow that if the sea sank five fathoms, an isthmus would appear ten miles broad. The island itself is about the size of Scotland; its area is 25,000 square miles. The south is a mass of mountains, descending sharply into the sea; northwards they melt into the plain. Thanks to these mountains and to the sea, the temperature is more moderate than in India, while the north-east and south-west monsoons are caught by the high ground, and the rainfall is abundant. The land is therefore fertile, and the crops are more valuable than even the ruby-mines, for which the island has long been famed.

The inhabitants are a mixed race. The Veddas,

the wild men of Ceylon, were conquered before the Christian era by a prince from north India, who, assisted by the Tamils of south India, founded a kingdom, the chronicles of which are still preserved. After fierce struggles these Sinhalese gained possession of the greater part of the island, while the Veddas were driven back into the mountains of the south. Arab traders held the ports, such as Colombo, for centuries, and controlled the rich seaborne commerce. Silks and spices were brought there by Chinese traders, who bartered them for the products of the West. Marco Polo, the farfamed European traveller, towards the end of the thirteenth century, tells strange tales of Ceylon. There were to be seen "the sepulchre of our first father, Adam, and some of his hair and of his teeth. and the dish from which he used to eat." The relics were doubtless those of Buddha, whose name is closely connected with the island in many of the sacred stories.

The Portuguese first landed in Ceylon in 1505; rapidly they formed a settlement, persecuted the native heathen, and endeavoured, without success, to subdue them utterly. In 1602 the Dutch appeared, and made alliance with the Sinhalese kings; they drove out the Portuguese, and monopolized the cinnamon trade. In 1782 the English East India Company captured the Dutch settlement of Trincomalee, were obliged to restore it, but conquered it once more. By the Peace of Amiens, 1802, the island was formally ceded to England, which has retained it ever since. The last of the long line of native kings was deposed in 1815, and by treaty with

the chiefs whom he had oppressed Ceylon became a Crown colony, the most important in the Empire. It is administered by a Governor, who is assisted by two Councils—the first administrative, consisting of officials only; the second legislative, with eight unofficial members out of seventeen, two of whom represent the natives; but even these eight are nominated by the Governor. It is garrisoned by 2,500 Indian troops, and Colombo is defended by forts and guns of the most modern design. The criminal law is based on the Indian penal code, but the civil law shows traces of the days of Dutch rule.

The population numbers about 4,000,000, of various races and religions; about half are Buddhists, but there are 390,000 professing Christians. The schools are large and well attended, but an English education is reserved for those who are able to pay for it. Government has taken in hand public works of all kinds—railways, telegraphs, waterworks, and the improvement of Colombo harbour. The revenue is derived mainly from the receipts of the railways and from harbour dues. Nearly 3,000 steamers call at Colombo every year.

There is much waste land in Ceylon, and the valuable forests were being rapidly destroyed until they were put under the charge of a government department. In the early days coffee was the staple product; but in 1870 a disease attacked the coffee-plant, and the industry was ruined. The old plants were grubbed up and tea-shrubs put in their place, with immediate success. In 1905 the value of the tea exported reached £4,000,000; 400,000 labourers from India are employed on the plantations, and there

are many native planters. Rice, cocoa-nuts, cinnamon, cocoa, and tobacco are also important products. The country seems well fitted for rubber-planting, an industry that may well assume enormous proportions in the future. Ceylon is the isle of gems. Not only has it many jewel mines, but its pearl fisheries are world famous.

About 400 miles from Ceylon lie the Maldive Islands, a tributary of the Empire, inasmuch as each year the Sultan of the Maldives sends an embassy and present to the Governor of Ceylon. The produce of these little coral islands consists principally of dried fish and tortoiseshell.

#### CHAPTER II

#### STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND MALAY STATES

Early traders—English defeats—Need for a port on the China route — Penang — Malacca — Singapore — Sir Stamford Raffles — Products — Government — Physical features of the Malay States—Early wars—Development and trade—Johore.

The East Indian Islands attracted the early European adventurers by their wealth in spices, pepper, cloves, and cinnamon, always delicacies in Western countries. As usual, the Portuguese sea-rovers, accustomed to the navigation of the ocean, were first in the field. About A.D. 1500 they discovered the long chain of islands which stretches from the Malay Peninsula towards New Guinea. The Dutch were not long behind them, and the usual quarrels

ensued. The Dutch triumphed, and made Java their centre, with outlying stations as far distant as Formosa and Japan.

The English were hard at their heels. In 1602 James Lancaster, acting for the East India Company, established a factory at Bantam, in Java, and brought back a great cargo of pepper, as an earnest of the rich trade which might be developed. But the Dutch were better supported from home, and possessed better ships and more capital than the English. After the "massacre" at Amboyna, 1623, the English lost heart. Bantam was abandoned by them, and the East India Company devoted itself to the conquest of India, and the struggle with the French for supremacy in that Empire.

However, the growth of the China trade made it important for the English to possess a station on the route between China and India, where fresh food

and water might be peacefully procured.

The natural trade route lies through the Malacca Straits, between the narrow peninsula below Siam and the island of Sumatra. On the peninsula the Dutch had the ancient port of Malacca, their station at the southern end of the Straits, while Sumatra was also under their control. The English Company therefore pitched on Penang, an island at the north end of the Straits, about 250 miles to the northwest of Malacca. A small strip of mainland was also acquired and a port established. The Dutch station at Malacca passed from hand to hand during the European wars between 1793 and 1815. It was eventually acquired by the English by treaty in 1825, in exchange for some old factories in Western

Sumatra. The island of Singapore, at the southern extremity of the Straits, was occupied by the English in 1819, by virtue of a treaty between the local chief and that great administrator Sir Stamford Raffles. who, at a time (1811 to 1816) when the British held Java, controlled the whole region with extraordinary skill and sympathy.

In 1826 Penang, Malacca, and Singapore were amalgamated into the Straits Settlements, and are now a Crown colony, governed from their capital at Singapore. All this territory lies within the tropics—in fact, Singapore is only one degree north of the Equator. It is a fair-sized island, twentyseven miles in length, mostly flat, and separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. The climate is very healthy, the damp heat being tempered by sea-breezes, and the magnificent harbour brings together merchants of every nation. The other settlements, Penang and Malacca, are not so valuable for commerce, but make up an area of about 300 square miles, and act as distributing centres for the trade of all the surrounding islands. for Dutch as well as English possessions. The total trade is valued (1906) at nearly £70,000,000. The main article of export is tin, but all tropical produce is dealt in, including spices, copra, sago, tapioca, and rubber. The Governor is assisted, as in other Crown colonies, by an Administrative and a Legislative Council, all the members of which are appointed by the Crown.

Practically the whole of the southern end of the Malay Peninsula is now under British influence, an area, excluding the land of the Sultan of Johore. of 26,000 square miles. Down the centre runs a lofty mountain-range. The rivers that flow from it are often the only track through the dense tropical forests and jungles that cover the interior. In these forests dwell the aborigines, who have gradually taken refuge there from the Malays, Chinese, and Indians who have filled the fertile plains nearer the sea. The Chinese, who have opened up the tin-mines and promoted agriculture and trade in general, are as numerous as the Malays. Large numbers of Tamil coolies from Southern India work on the plantations.

Till the arrival of the British, the country was split up into a multitude of little states; their constant wars and their daring piracy made them such unpleasant neighbours to the Straits Settlements that interference became necessary. By 1888, after twenty years of unrest, the last of the present four states was consolidated; and Pahang, Negri-Sembilan, Selangor, and Perak, administered by native chiefs with the help of English Residents, became the recognized Malay States. By an Anglo-French agreement with regard to Siam (1904) it was agreed that Britain should not push her influence any farther north.

The states were federated in 1896; that is to say, they are controlled by a Resident-General, who encourages the native rulers to take an interest in the administration, and secures co-operation for the common good. The results have been extraordinary. With the aid of an export tax on tin, abundant money is provided for public works. Railways have been built, a perfect network of

roads has been constructed, and all is ready for the expansion in the rubber trade, which is confidently expected. The Federated States possess a regiment of Malay State Guides, recruited from Indians, which, fortunately, has always been proved strong enough to cope with any disorder. Slavery for debt has been abolished, and the condition of the population is steadily improving. Education is spreading rapidly—so much so that by 1905, 250 schools were in existence, with about 15,000 scholars.

Johore is an independent state, to which the British government has the right to send a Resident. Administered by its own Sultan, it possesses large resources, which will be developed by the new Malay States railway.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE FAR EAST

Borneo—The Dutch and the English—Sarawak and Rajah Brooke—Brunei—North Borneo—Labuan—Hong Kong—Wei-hai-wei.

### Borneo.

THE island of Borneo is the largest in the world, with the exception of New Guinea. In the north the mountains approach the sea so closely that the rivers are unimportant. Westward the coastal plains are larger, and would be exceedingly fertile if cleared of the forest and jungle which cover them.

The country is also rich in minerals, gold, coal, and manganese.

The Dyak head-hunters, the chief native inhabitants, are celebrated for their extraordinary skill in bridge-building and iron-work. There are also Malay tribes and a considerable number of Chinese, as always in the Far East when there is a possibility of trade and industry.

English and Dutch have attempted at various times to found settlements in Borneo. Only in the last hundred years have they been successful, and the country is now divided, though unequally, between the two Powers. North Borneo, about one-fourth of the whole area, once governed by the Sultan of Brunei, has been gradually ceded by him into British hands.

The oldest of these British possessions is Sarawak, the land of the Brookes, rajahs of British birth. In 1841 Mr. James Brooke went on a yachting tour in the Malays, and helped the Sultan of Brunei to suppress a revolt. In return he was granted the governorship of Sarawak. After many difficulties and adventures, he was appointed by the British government Commissioner and Governor of Sarawak, still under the title of Rajah Brooke. He died in 1868, with the position of an independent sovereign under British protection. His nephew is now rajah, and has increased his territory to an estimated area of 42,000 square miles. Gold and antimony are exported, but rubber is probably the industry of the future.

The northern end of Borneo is governed by the British North Borneo Company, which received

its royal charter in 1881. The Company is not engaged in trade, but obtains its revenue from the land. It administers the country through a Governor, who acts for the London Court of Directors. Although the population is only about 180,000, including 18,000 Chinese, gold, coal, and manganese are worked in considerable quantities. Tobacco, rubber, and cocoa-nut plantations have been also developed, whilst trade in timber, salt fish, and birds'-nests (for soup) has arisen with Hong Kong. A railway has been built, and the future of the country is promising.

Between Sarawak and North Borneo the Sultan of Brunei still rules under British protection. His territory, rich though little, has shrunk in late years through the encroachments of his neighbours.

The island of Labuan lies off the north-west of Borneo; its excellent harbour makes it of some considerable importance for the trade from Borneo to Singapore. With a railway ten miles long and coal-mines, it supports a population of 8,400. It has now been taken under the control of the Straits Settlements.

#### The British in China.

Though constantly visited by European traders for the last five hundred years, China has always excluded foreign settlers. The first real European colony was Hong Kong. This desert island, off the mouth of the Canton River, was ceded to Great Britain as the result of a war between Great Britain and China in 1840. In later times a certain amount of territory on the mainland was added. The island

itself is eleven miles from east to west and two miles from north to south. Its granite hills rise to a height of 2,000 feet, and shelter a magnificent harbour. Hong Kong has no history apart from its trade. The shipping has developed rapidly in the last ten years, during which the tonnage of the ships cleared there has almost doubled. Hong Kong is one of the six greatest ports in the world, and the centre of Chinese emigration. The population numbers over 300,000, almost all Chinese. The importance of its situation, both from the military and political point of view, is so great that the island is the head-quarters of our Chinese Squadron, and possesses a garrison of 4,000 men. It is now organizing a great Chinese University.

In 1898 China leased to Great Britain the territory of Wei-hai-wei, opposite Port Arthur, then an important Russian arsenal, but now a possession of the Japanese. Though its importance has thus been diminished, it is still held by England, but is principally used as a health resort. Both Wei-hai-wei and Hong Kong are under the control of the Colonial Office; in the latter case the Governor is assisted by Councils, on which there are certain unofficial members, who represent the commercial interests.

HONG KONG HARBOUR.

From Victoria town, looking towards Kowloon,



### III

## THE WEST INDIES

Origin of the name—British possessions—Physical features
—Early history—The Leeward Islands—Barbados—
The Windward Islands—The Bahamas—British Honduras — British Guiana — Trinidad and Tobago —
Jamaica.

WHEN Columbus discovered the New World, in 1492, he thought that he had reached India, and, indeed, died in that belief. Hence arose the name West Indies. In the following year the Pope, at the invitation of Spain and Portugal, drew an imaginary line (see pp. 43, 169) from the North Pole to the South Pole, a hundred (afterwards changed to 375) leagues west of the Azores: all discoveries east of the line were to belong to Portugal, all to the west to Spain. The West Indies thus came within the possession of the latter, who first employed the term for all their new South American territory. Later the words have come to signify the islands of the Caribbean Sea and the neighbouring countries on the mainland.

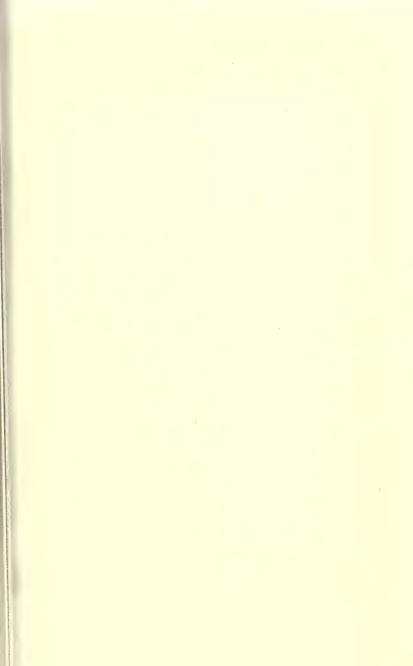
The West Indian possessions of Great Britain lie between latitude 10° to 27° north; and longitude

57° to 85° west. They are grouped as eight separate Crown colonies, as follows:

- I. The Leeward Islands.
- 2. Barbados.
- 3. The Windward Islands.
- 4. The Bahama Islands.
- 5. British Honduras on the mainland.
- 6. British Guiana on the mainland.
- 7. Trinidad and Tobago.
- 8. Jamaica.

The islands seem to be mainly of volcanic origin; they frequently rise to a great height above the sea, and are surrounded by coral-reefs. Fresh-water springs and rivers abound. Lying within the tropics, but surrounded by the ocean, the islands enjoy a continual summer, varied only by rainy or dry seasons—a summer which is pleasantly cool, thanks to the "doctor," as the sea-breeze is called. An abundant rainfall makes the soil fertile.

The delightful character of the climate is marred by earthquakes and hurricanes. Shocks are felt at frequent intervals, varying from a slight tremor to frightful convulsions, like that of 1907, which destroyed Kingston, the chief town of Jamaica. The sea also has its hurricanes, which are peculiarly violent in the month of October, when the insurance on all shipping is doubled. British Guiana and British Honduras are less liable to such devastations, but there is always a danger of inrush of the sea on to the low-lying plains, where lie most of the culti-





Photo, Emery Walker.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.

vated fields. Apart from these risks, all these lands are admirably fitted for tropical produce.

When the Spaniards brought to Europe gold and precious stones, the plunder of Mexico and Peru, such marvellous tales reached England of the wealth of these lands that the hardy English sailors were not to be deterred by any order of the Pope from trying their luck. Sir John Hawkins made a beginning by bringing cargoes of African slaves to sell to the Spanish planters; but in 1568 he was attacked by the Spanish, and narrowly escaped with his life. With him was Sir Francis Drake, who swore to be revenged. An expedition was fitted out from Devonshire, which ravaged the Spanish settlements, and returned laden with booty. On a later expedition Sir Walter Raleigh penetrated some distance up the Orinoco, the great river north of British Guiana, and even had hopes of founding a colony there. The "Spanish Main" became the happy hunting-ground of British adventurers, and expeditions were despatched by Elizabeth to despoil the Spanish settlements (see p. 43).

In 1623 Captain Thomas Warner, who had had some experience of a settlement near the River Amazon, led a party of Englishmen to the island of St. Christopher, thinking "that it would be a very convenient place for the planting of tobaccos, which was then a rich commoditie." Other settlements followed rapidly. Wars with French, Spanish, and Dutch ended in new acquisitions, until to-day the bulk of the islands belong to Great

Britain.

#### I. The Leeward Islands.

The Leeward Islands consist of St. Kitts (or St. Christopher), Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat. Dominica, and the Virgin Islands. Two years after the settlement by Captain Warner, a Norman gentleman, Pierre Belain, with his followers, suddenly arrived at St. Kitts, was welcomed, and was granted half the island. Therefore traces of French influence are to be found in all the Leeward Islands. which were colonized from St. Kitts. Dominica was long a matter of dispute between the French and English governments. Montserrat was often taken by the French, whom it received gladly, having been originally colonized largely by Irish Roman Catholics. The whole group is now, however, amalgamated into one Crown colony, with a Federal Council, on which sit elected representatives of the various islands, as well as the officials. During the days of slavery and before the system of European sugar bounties, the sugar industry was exceedingly flourishing. Other industries are now springing up under the care of the Imperial Department for Agriculture. Montserrat is famous throughout the world for its lime-juice. Tobacco and tropical fruits are grown, but the future of the islands seems to depend on the cultivation of cotton, or on radical improvements in the method of preparing sugar.

#### 2. Barbados.

The first batch of colonists arrived in Barbados from England in 1627. They procured seeds and roots and plants of cassava, yam, Indian corn, sweet

potatoes, plantains, bananas, oranges, limes, pine-apples, sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton, and annatto from Guiana, and settled down to till the soil, with rapid success. But the Civil War in England, 1642, split up the Barbadians into Royalists and Parliamentarians, especially as after the defeat of Charles I. large numbers of his followers took refuge in Barbados. Actually, in 1650, Charles II. was proclaimed King of England by the Barbadians, though at the time England was a republic. Ships were sent from home, and serious fighting seemed likely; but the Royalists were too strong to be treated badly, and excellent terms were granted them when peace was made in 1652.

Barbados has boasted of a representative government since 1660, with annual elections, two Houses of Parliament and a Treasurer appointed by the colony. The population is extraordinarily large for the size of the island—1,200 to the square mile. During the seventeenth century the plantations were largely worked by political prisoners, transported from England. Their place was taken later by African slaves, who seem to have always been well treated.

Naturally the sugar industry suffered by the "sugar bounties" system, but it is now reviving, and the introduction of new processes gives hope for a prosperous future.

### 3. The Windward Islands.

The Windward Islands (Grenada, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia) are separate Crown colonies, grouped, but not federated, under a Governor-in-Chief. Their

early history, down to 1795, is that of wars between the French and the English, varied with occasional struggles with the natives—the Caribs—who had intermarried with some shipwrecked negroes. In 1795 the Revolutionary government of France sent out Victor Hugues, who stirred up a bloody insurrection. The struggles between French and English only ended in 1803, when St. Lucia fell into English hands. In addition, the islands have suffered greatly from earthquakes and hurricanes, as well as from eruptions of the Soufrière volcano. Each little island boasts of some particular product. Grenada yields cocoa and spices; St. Vincent, arrowroot; St. Lucia, cocoa and coal. All are prosperous, and St. Lucia with its fine harbours is capable of great development.

## 4. The Bahamas.

The early years of this colony were chequered. Settled by the British in 1670, plundered by the Spaniards, resettled, replundered by French and Spaniards, and deserted by all its inhabitants, the Bahamas became a nest for the pirates who infested the West Indies. They were crushed by a brother-buccaneer in the employ of the British government; but the islands were seized in turn by the Americans in 1776 and by the Spanish in 1781. Finally, they were retaken by a party of American Loyalists, who settled there, and cultivated the islands. Their inhabitants enjoy representative government and lead a prosperous life. The islands are an American health resort, and export sponges, sisal-hemp, and a little cotton.

## 5. British Honduras.

British Honduras, a narrow slice of territory lying between Mexico and the Gulf of Honduras, was originally a settlement of retired pirates, which dates back to 1640. For many years these "baymen" lived under some sort of control from Jamaica, and traded in mahogany and logwood with the North American colonies. The Spaniards, however, detested them, and continually tried to drive them away, until in 1798 the colonists, with the aid of a British sloop-of-war and some soldiers, routed a Spanish fleet and army which was attacking Belize, their capital. The settlement has remained undisturbed ever since, and is now a Crown colony, under a Governor and Legislative Council. The trade in mahogany and logwood is supplemented by a growing sale of tropical fruit. British Honduras is now constructing a railway, and looks forward to considerable expansion when it is completed.

## 6. British Guiana.

Guiana was colonized by the Dutch, and Great Britain obtained a portion of it from Holland in 1814 (see p. 59). British Guiana lies on the mainland of South America, and has frequently been involved in frontier disputes with Venezuela to the west and Brazil to the south. These have been decided during the last few years by arbitration. The area is now estimated at 90,000 square miles, of which only 130 are under cultivation. The population only amounts to three per square mile. The chief trade of the colony is in sugar; cotton and coffee

have almost entirely disappeared, but Demerara "crystals" have become the standard for highclass sugar throughout the world. In addition. there is a fair trade in timber, particularly in greenheart, which is much in demand for harbour works. Rice is now being grown to supply the needs of the East Indian coolies who are employed in the plantations. Gold and diamonds are also to be found, but little has been done up to the present in opening up the country. One of the chief obstacles has been the system of granting Crown lands. Up till 1890 it was so difficult to obtain a grant that settlers were discouraged from making the attempt, and 30,000 Indians and Chinese left the country. Of late years these hindrances have been swept away, and peasant proprietors, some of them natives from India, are now settling on the land. In spite of the great heat, the capital - Georgetown - seems healthy for Europeans. Dutch law and Dutch institutions survive, with a Court of Policy (see p. 215) and a Combined Court, presided over by the British Governor, but trial by jury, and more lately village councils have been introduced.

# 7. Trinidad and Tobago.

When the island of Trinidad was first invaded by the Spaniards, it was inhabited by three tribes of Indians, who combined against the invaders, but afterwards fell out amongst themselves, and were conquered (1592). The English and the Dutch attacked the Spaniards from time to time without success, and the Spaniards continued quietly to

cultivate cocoa and tobacco there until 1783, when they voluntarily threw open the island to Roman Catholic settlers of all nations. The French Revolution drove many colonists thither, so much so that the island became as much French as Spanish. In 1797 it was conquered by the British under Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Tobago, like many other West Indian islands, was long a fighting-ground for English, Dutch, and French, and was not finally ceded to Great Britain till 1814.

Trinidad is famous for its lakes of pitch, which yield a handsome revenue to the Government. The settlers, including a large body of peasant proprietors, support themselves in comfort by means of sugar and cocoa. The labour of freed Africans has been supplemented by a supply of East Indian coolies and Chinese. Railways are being built, and education is flourishing.

## 8. Jamaica.

Jamaica is the largest British island in the West Indies, being 130 miles in length. In shape it resembles a turtle, the mountain ridges representing the back, with the highest range in the centre.

Always rich and fertile, it was an early colony of the Spaniards. In 1655 an English expedition, which had been sent by Cromwell to attack Hispaniola and had failed, conquered Jamaica on the way home. Cromwell saw the value of the island, and promoted its colonization. In early days the settlers grew cocoa and indigo. The cultivation of sugar was introduced in the middle of the eighteenth century, and, with the aid of negro slaves imported from Africa, planters and merchants amassed colossal fortunes. Nor were sugar and cocoa their only source of profit. Port Royal, the chief harbour, was the refuge of privateers in time of war and of pirates in times of peace. Jamaica was also the centre for the slave-supply to the Spanish islands.

The prosperity of Jamaica was rudely shaken by the emancipation of the slaves in 1833 (see p. 217). Planters and freed-men alike failed to adapt themselves to the new conditions, and the sugar trade fell with alarming rapidity from 84,000 hogsheads in 1834 to 37,000 hogsheads in 1850.

Earthquakes have ravaged the island at intervals up to 1907, when its capital—Kingston—was destroyed. Hurricanes and tidal waves have also

done much damage periodically.

From the very beginnings of the colony Jamaica enjoyed representative institutions. In fact, the Assembly claimed powers as far-reaching as those of the English House of Commons, insisting successfully on their right to initiate all Money Bills, and even to impeach Governors. In 1839 the Jamaican difficulties of the British government were used by the Opposition at home as a means of turning it out of office. In 1866 the colonists were so alarmed by a native rising that they hurriedly surrendered their constitution to the British government, and became a Crown colony. But in 1884 an elective element was reintroduced into the Legislative Council.

In recent years the prosperity of Jamaica has been revived to a certain extent by the rise of a



PORT ROYAL, JAMAICA.



fruit trade—first with America and later with England. The trade has been subsidized—that is to say, the company running the fruit steamers has been given a grant to meet the special expenses connected with the opening out of such a business. The benefits of the fruit trade are largely shared by the peasant proprietors—negroes—who now form a happy and contented portion of the population.

By dint of education of all kinds, particularly technical agricultural training, the condition of the people has been greatly improved. Cinchona is now grown, and Jamaica produces the best cigars

in the Empire.

Jamaica has attached to her, for administration, various small islands—the Turks, Caicos, Morant Cayas, Pedro Cayas, and the Cayman—whose inhabitants subsist by dint of growing sisal-hemp, of catching turtles, of distilling salt from the sea, or of fishing for sponges.

## IV

# BRITISH EAST AND WEST AFRICA

#### CHAPTER I

#### BRITISH EAST AFRICA

Boundaries—Mountains and climate—The Great Lakes— Early history—The British East Africa Company— Agreements with European Powers—The East African Protectorate—Uganda, its people and position—Missionaries—Civil wars—German intervention—Annexation—Zanzibar—British Somaliland.

British East Africa consists of a vast territory, bounded on the west by the Belgian Congo State; on the north by the Egyptian Sudan, Abyssinia, and Italian Somaliland; on the south by German East Africa. In addition, British Somaliland, on the north, and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, on the south, must be included. Though the Equator passes through the middle of the territory, the climate is only really unhealthy in the dense tropical forest near the coast. As the country rises to a lofty tableland of some 6,000 feet, the temperature falls, and the forest opens out into grassland and scrub. Upon this plateau lie the great Nyanza lakes, whence flows the Nile.

When the Portuguese first visited the coast, in 1498, they found a number of petty Arab chiefs, over whom they exercised a certain amount of

control. In 1660 the inhabitants invited the Imam of Muscat and Oman to come over from the southwest of Arabia and expel the Portuguese. The Imam was successful after forty years' fighting, and ruled over all three countries. In 1832 one of his successors transferred his capital to Zanzibar, but on his death he divided his dominions between his two sons, and all connection between Arabia and the African kingdom ceased.

Great Britain often interfered in the doings of these rulers, restricting the slave-trade in 1845, and settling the disputed succession in 1856. The opening of the Suez Canal (1869) brought Zanzibar much nearer Europe. A line of English steamers began to call there; in fact, the head of the British India Steam Navigation Company opened negotiations with the Sultan for the lease of all the coastland from Tungi to Warseik, a distance of 1,157 The British government, which had now entered into treaty connections with the Sultan. declined to ratify the concession, and thus the Germans were given an opportunity of securing a large part of the Sultan's dominions. In 1888 the British East Africa Company obtained a charter from the British government, and set about developing the lands it had obtained from the Sultan. Difficulties arose with the Germans, and, indeed, with all the Powers who had interests in those regions; but all disputes were finally settled by a series of agreements made by the British government (1890). The boundaries between British and German East Africa were settled, and to Germany was given the island of Heligoland, off the mouth of the

Elbe. The protectorate of France over Madagascar was acknowledged; and Italy was allowed to buy outright Benadir, a strip of territory to the north of the Sultan's dominions. By 1894 the last frontier difficulty was settled by an agreement with the Congo Free State, which has since become the Belgian Congo. Thus the British East Africa Company obtained control of a strip of 600 miles on the coast, with vague rights over the hinterland.

But the Company was unequal to the task of opening up the interior, where roads were non-existent and the Arab traders hostile. Finally in 1896 it relinquished all its rights to the British government in return for a payment of £250,000. The whole district is now organized into the protectorates of Uganda and East Africa. The latter consists of seven provinces, under the control of a Governor, assisted by Legislative and Executive Councils—in fact it is a Crown Colony.

Uganda lies on the tableland to the west of the East African Protectorate. It is inhabited by a variety of tribes, among which the most important are those of Bantu stock—perhaps the most advanced of the African races. In 1862 the first European explorers, Speke and Grant, arrived in Uganda, and found a clothed and comparatively civilized people, under the rule of a cruel despot. In 1877 the Church Missionary Society established a mission there, and two years later French Roman Catholic missionaries followed. As Mohammedanism had already been introduced by the Arab traders, the pagans found themselves confronted by three religious parties. Accordingly, King Mwanga,

alarmed at European encroachments, attempted a vigorous persecution of the native Christians, culminating in the murder of the English Bishop, Hannington. But by his heathen zeal Mwanga raised the Mohammedans against him, and he was deposed and driven out of the country. The Mohammedans then turned on their Christian allies, so weakening themselves thereby that they were conquered again by Mwanga in 1890.

At this juncture Karl Peters, a German agent, arrived in Uganda, and endeavoured to secure it for Germany. The British East Africa Company was alarmed, as its hinterland would thus be cut off. It accordingly despatched Captain Lugard the country. He at once soothed down the differences between the Catholics (French) and the Protestants (English), and obtained from the king a right to interfere in the government of the country. He then routed the Mohammedan insurgents. Finally, by settling the Protestants in one province, the Roman Catholics in another, and the Mohammedans in a third, he gave Uganda the peace that it had so long lacked. But the British East Africa Company had not the funds to bear this drain on their resources, and in 1891 resolved to retire from Uganda. After some hesitation the British government (1894) declared a protectorate over Uganda. A certain amount of desultory fighting took place while the natives were settling down to the new conditions, but the building of the railway from Lake Victoria Nyanza to the coast, a distance of 580 miles, has given an immense impetus to the civilization of the country. A Protectorate steamer patrols Lake Victoria Nyanza. The native chiefs are encouraged to rule their own peoples under British supervision. Cotton is being grown in increasing quantities, and there is every prospect of Uganda becoming a valuable and prosperous portion of the Empire.

The dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, which had originally stretched from Mozambique almost to Somaliland, had gradually been reduced to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, together with a strip ten miles broad extending along the coast of the British Protectorate. Even these were in 1890 placed under British protection. In 1896 a revolution made it necessary for British warships to bombard the city. A new Sultan was put on the throne, and slavery was abolished.

The Somaliland Protectorate lies on the shore of the Gulf of Aden, and consists mainly of desert, with a few towns on the coast. The inhabitants are wandering tribes, who since 1894 have acknowledged British supremacy, and have looked to England for protection. This has been granted to them against the raids of the "Mad Mulla," an Arab chief, who has successfully evaded the troops sent to crush him. It has finally been decided (1910) to evacuate the interior, leaving the natives to deal with the Mulla as best they can.

#### CHAPTER II

#### WEST AFRICA

British possessions — Gambia — Sierra Leone — The Gold Coast: history; the slave-trade; retirement of other European nations; Ashanti wars—Nigeria: physical features; the first explorers of the Niger; the National African Company; annexation.

THE British possessions in West Africa are five in number. Taken in order, beginning from the north, they are: (1) The Gambia Colony and Protectorate; (2) the Sierra Leone Colony and Protectorate; (3) the Gold Coast Colony, with Ashanti and the Northern Territories; (4) the Northern Nigeria Protectorate; (5) the Southern Nigeria Colony and Protectorate.

# Gambia.

Gambia, the northernmost possession of the British in West Africa, derives its name from the river on the banks of which it is situated. The Portuguese never took the trouble to hold it, but English traders as early as 1588 found it the easiest spot from which to open an African trade. In 1783 Gambia was recognized as a British possession by the Treaty of Versailles (see p. 57). Originally founded for the trade in slaves and ivory, the colony to-day shelters the slaves, whom Great Britain has freed since 1833. The administration is in] the hands of a Governor, who is assisted by

five travelling Commissioners. They go through the country, investigating grievances and holding courts of justice, where even the chiefs can be called to account.

### Sierra Leone.

The territory of Sierra Leone extends between French Guinea on the north and the Republic of Liberia on the south. As usual, the Portuguese were the first discoverers and traders, but in the seventeenth century English merchants established a trading-station on Bunce Island.

After the War of American Independence an attempt was made by the opponents of slavery to found a settlement, named Freetown, for negroes discharged from the army and navy, and for refugee slaves. The settlement was a failure, and was finally taken over by the Crown in 1808. Since then the coast-line and hinterland of Sierra Leone have been much extended, and a Protectorate proclaimed. The colony is ruled by a Governor, assisted by nominated Councils. Except for a few differences with the French as to the frontier, the country and the eleven native tribes who inhabit it have been at peace. In 1904 some islands off the coast were ceded to France in return for her ancient rights in Newfoundland (see p. 163). The population of Freetown still consists largely of emancipated slaves, and the black people in Sierra Leone have more authority and a higher position than in any other British settlement. Industrial progress has been slow, but a narrow-gauge railway has been constructed—the first in West Africa. The principal products of the colony are palm-kernels, palm-oil, kola-nuts, india-rubber, copal, hides, and ginger.

# The Gold Coast.

The Gold Coast on the Gulf of Guinea lies between the French Ivory Coast on the west and the German colony of Togoland on the east. King Edward IV. of England, in deference to the Pope, left the Guinea Coast to the Portuguese and actually prohibited English merchants from visiting it. The Dutch took the whole district from Portugal in 1642. English traders had often paid flying visits in Tudor times, and about 1650 the Royal African Company founded a station, in the hope of sharing in that most lucrative industry the slave-trade, which was abolished in 1807. Shortly afterwards the Danes, Brandenburgers, and French also joined in the competition. In 1816 both English and Dutch were attacked by the Ashantis, a powerful native race who inhabit the hinterland. The Royal African Company went bankrupt. Their stations were taken over by the British government (1821); but the Ashantis defeated and killed the Governor. preserving his head as a trophy. They were, however, eventually defeated and forced to surrender certain of their lands (1831). In 1850 the Danes, and in 1872 the Dutch, left the coast and handed over their forts to the British.

The Ashantis were annoyed to find that one nation held the sole command of the coast. They also felt themselves aggrieved in other respects, and in 1873 invaded the colony. After certain successes they were subdued by Sir Garnet Wolseley,

who destroyed their capital. In 1895 trouble arose once more. Ashanti was again invaded. King Prempeh was deposed, the country was placed under a protectorate, and with its hinterland, the Northern Territories, was annexed to the Gold Coast.

The whole country is now being rapidly developed. Gold is found in several districts. The soil is most fertile, and a large and flourishing industry has sprung up since the introduction of the rubber plant, over 12,000 tons of rubber being exported annually. One railway has already been constructed and another is being built. The colony proper is administered, with the aid of Executive and Legislative Councils, by a Governor, who is also Governor of the Northern Territories.

# British Nigeria.

British Nigeria, including Lagos, comprises the district situated between French Dahomey on the west, French Sudan on the north, and the German Cameroons on the east. It is a country with a coast-line intersected by a network of waterways, which effectually masked for centuries the great rivers behind. When these, with their dense vegetable growth, are passed, the land presents a series of plateaux, rising one behind the other from the sea-level, and affording in consequence marked varieties of climate. On the north-west corner is the great Lake Tchad.

The River Niger makes, with its multifarious mouths, a huge delta, covered with dense tropical forests. This forest lines it and its important tributary, the Benue, for hundreds of miles. As the

country rises above 1,500 feet, the land becomes easier to traverse and capable of cultivation. The inhabitants vary according to the land in which they dwell. The equatorial forests of the Niger Delta afford shelter to savage tribes, addicted to cannibalism and to human sacrifices. Immediately inland are the ancient states of the Hausas, a brave negro race, partially civilized and speaking a rich language. To the north-east lies Bornu, a Mohammedan State inhabited by a mixed race, with a civilization dating back for 1,000 years. In the south dwell the Fulahs, a prosperous pastoral people, who subjugated many of the Hausa States in the nineteenth century, and spread Mohammedanism among them.

British efforts to discover the mouths and the course of the Niger began in 1778, under the auspices of the African Association, founded by Sir Joseph Banks (see p. 171). The best-known of these explorers are Mungo Park (1796-1826), Lieutenant Clapperton and his servant, Richard Lemon Lander, who took up the task after the death of his master.

In 1832 a Liverpool merchant, McGregor Laird, impressed by the stories of Lander, fitted out two steamers to work on the Niger. With government assistance, he laid the foundations of a great trade, in spite of many mishaps. In 1879 the National African Company was formed; it bought out two French syndicates, and established relations with chiefs far up-country. Later it took the name of the "Royal Niger Company," and continued the work of opening up the country, by treaties with important chiefs, by fitting out a fleet of trading steamers, by

# 302 BRITISH EAST AND WEST AFRICA

buying privileges when necessary, by raising a force of Hausas, and by establishing a High Court of Justice. In thirteen years it added 350,000 square miles to the possessions of Great Britain. Complications with the French caused so much anxiety that in 1900 the government took over the property and liabilities of the Company, and formed its territories into the protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria. Agreements as to their respective spheres of influence in West Africa were entered into by the governments of Great Britain, Germany, and France at the same time as the agreements relating to East Africa (see p. 293). Lagos, formerly an independent colony, was added to Southern Nigeria in 1906, and the whole country is now under Crown administration.

The chief products of Nigeria are palm-kernels and oil, rubber, various woods and gums, ivory, and hides. Northern Nigeria is still difficult of access, but offers a promising market. Roads and bridges are being made, and a light railway, twenty miles in length, is actually constructed.

# V

# BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

The official ruler of Egypt—Natural advantages and early history—Suez Canal—National bankruptcy—European intervention—Bombardment of Alexandria—British control and the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir—Management of the Nile water—Native unrest—The Sudan—General Gordon—The Mahdi—Evacuation of the Sudan—Reconquest and joint control—Strategical importance of the Sudan and of Egypt.

OFFICIALLY, Egypt is a State tributary to the Sultan of Turkey, and governed by his Viceroys, who in this case are hereditary. Great Britain has not formally established any protectorate there. Like other European Powers, she claims certain rights in the country to safeguard her subjects, but in theory she has no other power there. It may then seem strange to include Egypt in a history of the British Empire. The reason is that for the last quarter of a century we have given "advice" so fully that we have actually ruled the country.

The civilization of Egypt is the oldest in the world. Her history for many thousands of years is chronicled in picture-writings on the tombs of her kings. She has always enjoyed two natural advantages—her fertility and her geographical position. Rain seldom

falls in Egypt; but while all round her is barren desert, where a few Arabs eke out a scanty existence, the River Nile, which flows through her whole length from the mountains and lakes of Uganda, overflows its banks each year, and covers the surrounding districts with a rich layer of fertile soil.

Egypt lies in the north-eastern corner of Africa, between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, on the highroad from Europe to the East. Therefore, when Napoleon, in 1798, formed his vast project of founding a French Empire in the East, he saw the necessity of conquering Egypt. He led an expedition there, and defeated the Egyptian ruler; but his fleet was destroyed by Nelson at the Battle of the Nile (1798), a disaster which ruined all Napoleon's Eastern plans.

On the north, Egypt skirts the route to the East through the Red Sea and the Suez Canal. This canal unites the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, and is cut through Egyptian territory. For fifty years before the canal was built travellers, instead of sailing round Africa, had crossed the Isthmus of Suez on foot, re-embarked, and thus shortened the journey to India to thirty days. Ferdinand de Lesseps, the great French engineer, conceived the idea of cutting through this strip of land and saving the trouble of transhipment. A company was formed in France to carry out the scheme, and the necessary capital raised. The Khedive arranged to provide the labour required by forcing the Egyptian fellaheen to dig. In 1869 the canal was opened, and travellers can now take ship direct from Europe to the East. The British government obtained a hold on the management of the canal by purchasing four million pounds' worth of shares from the Khedive when he was on the verge of bankruptcy in 1875. In time of war the canal is closed to fighting vessels by international agreement. Moreover, it would be exceedingly easy to block the passage by sinking a heavily-laden ship in the narrow channel which joins together the salt lakes through which the canal runs.

The Turkish Viziers of Egypt increased in power and independence during the nineteenth century. The most dramatic among them, Ismail, procured the title of Khedive from the Sultan, and set himself to develop the country according to his own ideas. He found European financiers anxious to lend him money—a process they continued until 1875, when the debt amounted to £89,000,000. On these debts interest had to be paid, and the national income amounted to barely £0,000,000. The result was national bankruptcy. In 1876 the European governments, principally England and France, took charge of the interests of their citizens who were bond-holders. They supervised the collection of the revenue, and arranged that a due sum should be set aside for the payment of the interest on the debt. The Khedive, Ismail, objected; but the Sultan of Turkey suddenly deposed him in favour of his son Tewfik, who submitted to the demands of the Powers. The Egyptian officials found that this European control took away their chances of private profit from tax-gathering, and, under Arabi Bey, endeavoured to upset the arrangements by instituting a "Chamber of Notables," who should manage the finances. A combined French and English fleet was sent to Alexandria to overawe these malcontents by a show of force, but the French took no action and sailed away. Arabi fortified and manned the forts. The British Admiral promptly bombarded the town, where serious anti-foreign riots had broken out.

Arabi now took up arms against the Khedive, who had submitted to the English. The French again refused to interfere, and an English army of occupation was obliged to land. On September 13, 1882, Lord Wolseley stormed the Egyptian entrenchments after a night march on Tel-el-Kebir. The English army remained to keep the country quiet, and the English officials, under Lord Cromer, reorganized the finances of the country, and took in hand the task of generally advising the Egyptian government.

The situation has remained the same up to the present day. We still "advise" the Egyptian government, and an army of pacification still occupies the country. The army has, however, diminished, and the "advice" has increased. The practical results are apparent to all. The interest on the debt has been paid regularly, the prosperity of the country increased beyond all measure, and the Egyptian peasant has been released from the "corvée"—forced unpaid labour for the government. The salt-tax has been practically halved, while the land-tax, by dint of readjustment and reductions, no longer reduces the farmer to destitution. More than all, the flow of the Nile

water has been regulated. In former times the rich man got more than his share, and little provision was made for storing the water for the nation, or for providing against a bad season. Huge dams have now been built, behind which thousands of millions of gallons are preserved. Thus a supply of water is provided for the summer months, and a second crop is rendered possible. In Middle Egypt alone the value of the land has been increased by £25,000,000. Traveller after traveller testifies to the increased prosperity of the country and happiness of its inhabitants.

Yet we hear much of discontent in Egypt, and reasons are not far to seek. The other British reforms have been less popular than our irrigation. European administration of justice is not always acceptable to an Eastern race; moreover, many of the Egyptians feel that they are competent to manage their own affairs. As in India, Western education has given them ideas of the glory of self-government. and many of the Young Egypt party claim that the time has come for Britain to withdraw, or at least to introduce some form of popular representation. Steps in the latter direction are being slowly taken, but the general belief among English statesmen seems to be that Egypt is not yet able to do without British advice, and that the time for evacuation is not yet.

Moreover, British responsibilities are not confined to Egypt. Circumstances have made it necessary to extend British control up the Nile for 1,200 miles. What is now called Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is peopled partly by negroes, partly by

Arabs, who used to gain their livelihood largely by means of the slave-trade. Until the days of the Khedive Ismail, the Egyptian governors terrorized the more peaceful inhabitants, and accepted bribes from the slave-hunters; but Ismail, among his other European reforms, decreed the abolition of the slave-trade, and confided the task to a British governor, Colonel Gordon, who rapidly carried it out.

After his retirement the Sudan burst into a semi-religious revolt. The leader was the Mahdi. who announced himself to be the forerunner of the Messiah. He drew to his standard many devout Mohammedans and all discontented slavetraders. In two years almost all the Sudan had fallen into his hands. The Egyptian army, under Hicks Pasha, was wiped out to a man by the Mahdi's dervishes, and, after further reverses, it was determined to abandon the Sudan. But the capital, Khartoum, contained a garrison of about 7,000 Egyptian troops, in addition to 30,000 inhabitants. Obviously it was impossible to leave them to the tender mercies of the Mahdi, and, by the advice of the British government, the Khedive sent Gordon. the former governor, to bring them back to Egypt (January, 1884). Gordon dashed out to Khartoum, practically alone, but found it impossible, or inexpedient, to leave the city, which he put in a state of defence. The Mahdi invested the town, and all possibility of retreat was cut off. For 317 days Gordon held out, the only European officer in the town. The British government sent a relief expedition, under General Wolseley, but it arrived two

days after the town had been taken and Gordon slain on the steps of his palace. Thirteen years later the Sudan was reconquered by Lord Kitchener, and placed under the joint administration of Egypt and Great Britain. During these years the Egyptian army had been completely remodelled by English officers, so that, with a stiffening of British troops, it completely routed at Omdurman its old conquerors, the Dervishes.

The Sudan is now reaping the fruits. The slave-trade has been destroyed, and Khartoum is becoming a centre of education and a civilizing influence throughout the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Trade is reviving, and, in the certain hope of justice and protection, the negro inhabitant can cultivate

his land and hope to reap the crop himself.

Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, as commanding the water-supply of Egypt, are of great strategical importance to the British Empire. To the south the Sudan joins the British Protectorate of Uganda. Thus the line of British influence extends almost continuously from the Cape to Cairo, and the Cape to Cairo Railway (see p. 240) can be built on British soil, with only the one break of German East Africa.

# VI

# SEA-LINKS OF THE EMPIRE

Peculiar importance of the navy to the Empire—Traderoutes and their protection—Need for coaling-stations
—Types of warships—Expense of the navy—Distribution of the navy—The chain of ports—Coaling-stations
and naval bases—Gibraltar—Malta—Cyprus—The
Bermudas—Ascension—St. Helena—Tristan da Cunha
—The Falkland Isles—Other islands in the Antarctic
—Mauritius—The Chagos Islands—The Seychelles—
The Cocos and Christmas Islands—Fiji—New Hebrides
—Fanning Island—Pitcairn Island—Minor islands in
the Pacific—Submarine cables.

WITH few exceptions, the great empires of the past spread over continuous stretches of land. It was possible for an army to march from one end to another of the Assyrian, of the Persian, or the Macedonian dominions, without ever embarking on board ship for a sea-voyage. Even the Romans had nothing but the Mediterranean or the English Channel to cross if they wished to transport troops from one frontier to another. But the States of the British Empire are scattered over the two hemispheres, and are separated by vast expanses of ocean. Across these stretches of water lie the trade-routes; below them lie the telegraph cables. Without control of the sea and its highways the Empire would cease to exist, and would be split up into a great number of weak and often helpless communities.

Our sea-power depends on naval force. It depends, that is to say, on the capacity of the British Empire to maintain a navy which shall be able to defeat the navy or navies of any Power or Powers that may be hostile to the Empire. Nothing less will give the Empire control of the sea. And it is for this reason that the British people have for generations maintained, or striven to maintain, a navy superior in strength to any two foreign navies. Of course, three or more nations may combine against us, but statesmen must look at the probable rather than at the barely possible.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries British mariners and traders discovered by hard experience the need for resting-places on the main sea-routes, where they could water and reprovision their ships. They contrived to gain possession of a certain number of these ports, but the great wars with Continental Powers—above all, the struggles with France—enabled Great Britain to add to her island colonies by conquest and treaty, until, after the re-settlement of Europe in 1815 (see p. 59), she possessed an almost perfect line of positions on the great trading-routes of that day.

Conditions of naval war have been changed by the introduction of steam-power; but repairing docks are as necessary as ever, and the modern battleship, even if it can condense its own water, requires the coal without which it is helpless. No trustworthy method of transferring coal from a collier to a ship on the open sea has yet been discovered, and until such is perfected, or the use of oil fuel becomes general, coaling-stations will be necessary. The distance which a battleship can safely cover without recoaling is from 2,000 to 3,000 miles at moderate speed, say fifteen knots\* an hour. It follows, then, that coaling-stations should be spaced out not more than 3,000 miles apart, and less if possible. On all the great traderoutes, except those on the Eastern Pacific, the British Empire has such stations at shorter intervals. The gaps between New Zealand and the Falkland Islands, and between Canada (Vancouver) and Fiji, can only be crossed by battleships or cruisers that carry exceptionally large stores of coal.

The navies of the present day consist of four classes of ships, apart from submarines, which are mainly used for work near the coast. The first and most important consists of battleships—huge floating platforms plated with steel, carrying enormous guns in turrets and capable of a speed of eighteen to twenty-one (or more) knots. The armoured cruiser is also covered with steel armour-plating, but not so heavily as the battleship; neither does it carry so many guns. On the other hand, it is two to four knots an hour faster. The protected cruiser is in its turn lighter than the armoured cruiser, but is far cheaper to build, and can go where larger ships would run aground. The torpedo-boat and the destroyer rely mainly on torpedoes as weapons of attack. They are smaller than cruisers, exceedingly rapid, and can despatch a torpedo 4,000 yards carrying a bursting charge of 180 pounds of guncotton.

<sup>\*</sup> A knot is a nautical mile, equal to a mile and a quarter on land.

The expense of the navy is, of course, enormous, over £40,000,000 per annum. Every year larger and larger battleships and cruisers are being built, carrying heavier guns and possessing greater speed. The *Dreadnought*, with its II inches of armour and its I2-inch guns. has been followed by the *Orion* (1910), which carries I3·5-inch guns.

Inasmuch as the probable assailants of the Empire are to be found in Europe, and as they keep their fleets in European waters, the British fleet must follow the same policy and do its training in the waters in which it may have to fight. In case of war, cruisers will be required on all the trade-routes to protect merchant ships from destruction, but the main strength of the fleet is massed near the possible enemy. "Our frontier should be the coast-line of our opponents." British battleships will protect Australia or Canada from attack more effectively by fighting in European waters than if they were scattered over the ocean.

If the British fleet were defeated, nothing could prevent an enemy despatching a large army to conquer the colonies piecemeal; his fleet could blockade colonial ports and destroy colonial commerce at its leisure. For this reason, the colonies know that the fleet is all-important to them.

The links in the chain of naval bases, coalingstations, and colonial ports which bind together the British Empire, facilitate its naval operations, and protect its trade-routes, may be considered in four divisions: (1) The Mediterranean, (2) the Atlantic, (3) the Indian Ocean, (4) the Pacific.

### I. The Mediterranean.

The geographical position of the great rock-fortress Gibraltar is unique. In front of it the entrance to the Mediterranean, between Spain and Africa, narrows to only twelve miles, so that in war an enemy endeavouring to go in or out, even if he escaped the fire of the guns on the fortresses, could hardly evade the attack of the torpedo craft stationed there. Moreover, it is the nearest European port to South America and the West Indies, and is only 3,200 knots from New York. It is thus of great value to cruisers patrolling the Central Atlantic.

Captured in 1704 by the English, when its importance was not fully grasped, Gibraltar has withstood three sieges, of which the fiercest took place in 1779-1783 (see pp. 58, 63). England was at that time endeavouring to crush the revolt of her American colonies, and France and Spain had gladly joined forces against her. For four years the heroic General Eliott held out against a combined fleet, to which were added in 1782 floating batteries carrying heavy cannon. Attack after attack was repulsed, and the French and Spanish settled down sullenly to a blockade. Admiral Howe in 1783 burst through the blockade, and threw fresh supplies of food and ammunition into the fortress, which has never again been seriously attacked.

Its fighting value to-day is less than it used to be, owing to modern improvements in artillery. The ships in the harbour could now be shelled from Spanish territory, though the fort itself is probably



GENERAL ELIOTT, AFTERWARDS LORD HEATHFIELD.

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the National Gallery.



impregnable, thanks to its miles of batteries cut out of the solid rock. As a port it is of great importance for shipping passing through the Mediterranean. It is, moreover, one of the bases of the British Mediterranean fleet, and of the Atlantic cruiser squadron. A strong torpedo flotilla is stationed there, and the garrison is of considerable size. The rock fortress—for it is nothing more—is under the supervision of the Admiralty. who appoint the Governor-

A thousand miles east of Gibraltar lies Malta, with its tiny group of islands. The whole area is hardly 200 square miles, but its geographical position has always made Malta the fighting-ground of nations who aspired to the empire of the Mediterranean. The Carthaginians from Africa, the Romans from Italy, the Saracens from the East, all saw its importance and fought for it. In the sixteenth century the Emperor Charles V. granted it to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, a semi-religious Order whose duty and pleasure it was to fight the Turks, when they could no longer carry on the struggle in Palestine, as in the days of the Crusaders. Long after the danger from the Turks had passed in fact, for two centuries—the Knights held the island; but in 1798 Napoleon attacked the place, and captured it.

Within two years (see p. 59) the English had conquered Malta, which was formally ceded to them by the Treaty of Vienna. The island, though so small, is remarkably fertile, and supports a population of some 200,000, who speak a dialect of Arabic. English is the official language, but Italian is spoken in the law-courts. The climate is pleasant,

except that the heat is excessive in the height of summer, when the hot, damp scirocco blows from the south-east, and the hamseen—a hot, dry wind comes straight from the Sahara Desert. Valetta, the capital, is an imposing town and possesses a good harbour. The shipping trade is considerable, mostly British. A large garrison is stationed there, which is available for service in the East, if a sudden necessity should arise. The Mediterranean fleet has its headquarters there, and the harbour is fitted with dry docks capable of receiving the largest battleships or cruisers. The islands are ruled by a Governor on the lines of a Crown colony; that is to say, he is assisted by an Executive Council of official members, and by a Legislative Council, of which a proportion is elected by the inhabitants.

In the extreme eastern corner of the Mediterranean lies Cyprus. The Phænicians were its first rulers in historic times, and were followed by the Greeks, the Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Persians, the Macedonians, and the Romans. Captured by the English king, Richard I., on his way to the Crusades, it finally fell into the hands of the Venetians, who lost it, after a desperate defence, to the Turks (1570). For three centuries it remained in their hands, and steadily declined in importance, wealth, and prosperity. In 1878 it was entrusted to the British. It was expected to serve as a coaling-station in the Eastern Mediterranean, an important base, being only 220 miles from the mouth of the Suez Canal, and near the terminus in Asia Minor of the Baghdad Railway, which was then being planned to reach as far as India. But the British control of Egypt

(1882) made Cyprus useless as a coaling-station, after Alexandria and Port Said were available, while the Baghdad Railway has made little progress.

Cyprus can therefore hardly be termed a link of the Empire: it stands separate and out of the chain, and it still pays tribute to Turkey; but it has a distinct future. In size it ranks after Sicily and Sardinia as the largest Mediterranean island. With its mountains, its rich corn-lands, its orchards, and its clear air, it may well vie with Egypt as a health resort in years to come. Already irrigation works, harbour improvements, and railways have done much to benefit the people. The population at present numbers about 250,000 Greeks and Mohammedans, and is allowed to take its share in government by electing a majority of the members of the Legislative Council.

# 2. The Atlantic.

Two thousand nine hundred miles from Portsmouth, and five hundred and eighty miles from the American continent, lie the Bermudas. They are thus situated conveniently near the great trade-routes across the Atlantic, and cruisers using them as their base should be able to give effective protection to British commerce with the United States and the West Indies. From Halifax to the Bermudas the distance is only 700 miles: if, therefore, Canadian trade with the West Indies becomes important, the naval value of the islands will be increased by their nearness to this trade-route. The group takes its name from a Spanish explorer, Bermudez, but they

were colonized a century later from Virginia. The islands number 100, but only ten are inhabited, and the total land area is hardly twenty square miles. The most important town is Hamilton, standing on Main Island, with a population of 2,200 inhabitants.

Two thousand eight hundred miles to the south-east of the Bermudas lies the lonely island of Ascension, a forbidding mass of rock, rising 2,800 feet from the water. It is under a naval officer. Large stores of coal are kept there. In war it would serve as a useful base for cruisers patrolling the trade-routes to Australia and Asia by the Cape, as well as the route to the southern portion of South America.

South-east of Ascension lies St. Helena. A little larger and more fertile than its neighbour, it was finally captured by the English in 1673 from the Dutch. Before the opening of the Suez Canal it was an important stopping-station on the route to India, while in 1815 it became the prison of Napoleon Bonaparte, who was kept carefully guarded there until his death. Now it has lost most of its importance; the roads and fortifications are decaying, and the people, who number about 3,000, regret their former prosperity. The island is a Crown colony, with a Governor, but no garrison.

Far to the south of St. Helena, on the direct route between Cape Town and Buenos Ayres, is the small and remote island of Tristan da Cunha, so called after the Portuguese admiral who first sighted it. Landing is extraordinarily difficult, owing to the heavy storms and the terrible rollers which break upon its rock-bound coast. The population numbers perhaps seventy-five souls, who hold possessions

in common, and are governed by the oldest inhabitant. Gough Island which lies near is now uninhabited, but was once used by seal-fishers.

Thence to the Falkland Isles is another 2,000 miles south-west. They lie off the coast of Patagonia, in South America, nearly opposite to the entrance of the Magellan Straits, and are the only considerable group in the southern Atlantic. With a population of nearly 2,000 and an area of 6,500 miles, they seem comparatively large. Strategically they might be of importance for the protection of the trade to the west coast of South America; but the opening of the Panama Canal will deflect many of the vessels which now call there. Commercially they support a million sheep, and seem likely to retain their woollen trade. The islands are a Crown colony and are entirely self-supporting. Beyond them and under their protection lies the ice-bound archipelago of South Georgia, where a large whaling industry is carried on by companies of various nationalities.

Other small Antarctic islands with a fascinating record of mystery, nominally under the British flag, but uninhabited, are Marion and St. Edward Islands, the Crozet Islands, Royal Company and Macquarie Islands. They are on the track of sailing-vessels plying between Cape Colony and New Zealand, and on most of them are depots of food for shipwrecked sailors. On the South Orkneys, a dependency of the Falkland Islands, the British government have permitted the Argentine Republic to establish a meteorological station, which is farther south than any other permanently inhabited spot in the world.

# 3. The Indian Ocean.

In the Indian Ocean the British Empire possesses a number of islands and archipelagos, the importance of most of which has greatly diminished since the opening of the Suez Canal. Ships are no longer obliged to pass by the Cape for their voyage to India and the Far East; therefore fewer ships require to procure fresh water or provisions on their way. By far the most valuable of these islands is Mauritius, known in the days of the French rule as the "Île de France." It lies to the east of Madagascar, 1,600 miles from Natal, and 2,100 miles from Ceylon.

Discovered and held by the Dutch, it was abandoned by them, and fell into the hands of the French. They found it very useful, both as a centre of trade and as a base for attacks on British commerce. Every merchantman going to India was obliged to sail past the island. In time of war the danger was great. Actually during the month of October, 1807, eighteen British Indiamen were captured near Mauritius. The place became such a source of danger that in 1810 a British force was sent to capture it. At the peace of 1815 it was retained by England, and given once more its ancient name in memory of Prince Maurice of Holland.

During the last hundred years most of the great forests have been cut down to make room for sugarcane plantations. The climate has suffered accordingly: rains are less frequent and more uncertain, though, indeed, hurricanes have also diminished in number. The climate is hot, but sufficiently healthy for Europeans, especially on the high ground inland. The sugar industry has suffered from the competition of European sugar extracted from beetroot, and the land is steadily passing into the hands of the Indian coolies who originally came out to labour on the plantations. The population now numbers about 370,000, of whom two-thirds are Indians; the remainder are French by descent, half-castes, negroes, or Malays. Though French is commonly spoken, English is the official language. The island is a Crown colony, and is administered by a Governor, aided by the usual two Councils. The Legislative Council includes representatives of the inhabitants.

Dependent on Mauritius are a number of small islands, now of slight importance, though in the old days they were the resorts of the privateers and pirates who swarmed in these seas.

The Chagos Archipelago, in the centre of the Indian Ocean, has no regular communication with the outside world. Its produce consists of vanilla and cocoanuts. As, however, it lies on the direct route of ships from Aden to Australia or from Mauritius to Ceylon, it might be of extreme value for cruisers protecting these lines of commerce in time of war. There is a fine harbour, but coal cannot be procured without difficulty.

The Seychelles, lying to the north-east of Madagascar, make a halfway resting-place for ships sailing between the Red Sea ports and Mauritius. On the main island, Mahé, there is a small coaling-station for the navy. The total population is about 20,000, and the management of affairs is carried on

by a Governor, assisted by the usual two Councils. The products are those of tropical islands—tortoiseshell, vanilla, cocoanuts, cocoa, and guano. The climate is hot, but healthy for Europeans, though the group lies under the Equator. The beauty of the scenery led General Gordon to believe that this was the actual Garden of Eden. Between Madagascar and Zanzibar lie the Aldabra Islands, famous for their gigantic tortoises. Strategically they might be useful for observing the French naval base at Diego Suarez, on Madagascar, if war with France were ever to break out.

In the extreme east of the Indian Ocean lie the Cocos and Christmas Islands. On them live ferocious giant land-crabs, which climb the cocoanut palms and devour the fruit. The position of these islands is as important in the east as that of the Seychelles in the west, or the Chagos in the centre of the Indian Ocean. Their value would be great from a naval point of view if at any time the Dutch East Indies should pass into the hands of a strong sea-power. They are attached for purposes of government to the Straits Settlements.

# 4. The Pacific.

Many of the numerous islands scattered in the Pacific Ocean belong to Great Britain. Of these by far the most important is Fiji, a group of more than 200 islands, 1,100 miles north of New Zealand and about 1,700 miles east of Australia. Though Captain Cook visited Fiji, little was known of it until the nineteenth century, when the

FIJI 323

Wesleyan missionaries converted many of the cannibal inhabitants to Christianity. In 1874 the British flag was hoisted, in accordance with the request of the native chiefs. Fiji became a Crown colony, under a Governor, who is also High Commissioner of the Pacific, aided by a Legislative Council, of which two members are natives. The local government is carried on as far as possible by native chiefs, so that the customs of the people have not been violently disturbed. There is no garrison, and only a small body of native police, but life and property are perfectly safe.

The original inhabitants were partly of the straight-haired and light-coloured Polynesian race (see p. 195), and partly dark Melanesians. Mingled with them are half-castes, and a considerable number of Indian coolies, who were imported to work on the plantations. The Fijian is a charming person, who, reclaimed from savagery, is lively, childlike, good-tempered, but indolent. Unfortunately, he succumbs rapidly to the diseases brought

by Europeans.

The area of the group is about 7,000 square miles, but only two of the islands are of any considerable size. The soil is rich and the subtropical climate, on the whole, healthy even for the white man. The rainfall is heavy, and the vegetation correspondingly luxuriant. The products are sugar, fruit, especially bananas, cocoa-nuts, and the dried cocoa-nut shells known as copra; but cotton, tobacco, and arrowroot are also grown. Nearly all the trade (£1,300,000 annually) is carried on with the other British possessions in the Pacific. The importance

of the colony will greatly increase when the Panama Canal is completed, as it lies directly on the route, via Panama, between Australia and England.

To the west of Fiji lies the island group of the New Hebrides, which is under joint French and British control, though the people of the interior are still cannibals of the most savage type. The natives here belong to the Melanesian race, which is frizzy-haired, thick-lipped, and dark-skinned, unlike the straight-haired, light-coloured Polynesians. Many of them have been taken to Oueensland to work on the sugar plantations there, and are known by the general name "Kanakas" (see p. 189). The area of the group is a little less than that of Fiji. The Solomon Islands are inhabited by the same race as the New Hebrides; the people are also cannibals, and cultivate the usual South Sea products, particularly the cocoanut. In the Eastern Pacific Fanning Island is of some importance, as here the British cable between Canada and Australia touches land. It lies on the direct route between Vancouver (Canada) and Fiji, and might become a valuable coaling-station.

Among the hundred or more islets scattered up and down the Pacific and belonging to the British must be noted Pitcairn Island, if only for its romantic history. In the eighteenth century the crew of H.M.S. Bounty mutinied against Captain Bligh (afterwards Governor of New South Wales, see p. 173), and turned him and the other officers adrift in an open boat. Most of the mutineers were captured afterwards and punished. Eight of them, however, sailed off with the Bounty, and were

not heard of again for twenty years. Then an American whaler visited Pitcairn Island, and found there a man named Adams, the last of the mutineers. They had seized wives from the natives of Tahiti, and sailed off to this remote refuge. A little colony of 169 persons has grown up, governed by a president and a parliament of seven members. The British government has recently assisted them to buy a cutter, which enables them to sell their produce. As the population grows too great for the size of the island (its area is only two square miles), some of them migrate to other islands in the South Seas.

The whole British Empire is now connected by a great system of submarine telegraph cables, of which a mere list indicates the extent. Across the Atlantic to Canada and Newfoundland run twelve cables, both ends of which are in British hands. Four cables connect England with Gibraltar or Lisbon; three cross the Southern and Central Atlantic, linking up the Mother Country with the British possessions in West Africa, with the Cape of Good Hope, and with the intervening islands of Ascension and St. Helena. another British line runs from Canada southward. through Bermuda, to the British West Indies, and so on to South America. Through the Mediterranean a whole network of lines and cables gives communication with Malta, Cyprus, Egypt, and Aden. Three cables run from Aden to India, and a fourth to Zanzibar, where it forks, sending one branch to the Seychelles and Mauritius, and then to Natal; the other branch runs down the east coast, finally

terminating in Natal, where it meets the cables which lie under the Atlantic. Three cables, two running by India and Singapore and one direct from Mauritius across the Indian Ocean, connect England with Australia by the eastern route. Another cable crosses the whole expanse of the Pacific from the Canadian port of Vancouver to the Fiji Islands, New Zealand, and Australia, and thus completes the circle of the globe. How far this network of cables will be superseded by wireless telegraphy the next ten years will show. The conquest of the powers of the air and the junction of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by the Panama Canal, may effect changes in the commerce and politics of the world which as yet it is impossible to foresee. It rests largely with the citizens of the British Empire to determine whether these changes shall make for human fellowship and for peace.

BILLING AND SONS, LIMITED, PRINTERS, GUILDFORD.

# THE BRITISH EMPIRE. Its Past,

its Present, and its Future. Edited by A. F. POLLARD, M.A. Demy 8vo., xxxii+864 pp. 5s. net. Inland postage, 6d., oversea postage, 1s.

A concise and comprehensive account of the British Empire in its manifold aspects—political, geographical, racial, historical, constitutional, industrial and commercial—and of the causes and forces which have determined its development.

Indispensable for all school libraries and teachers of history and geography, as well as for everyone who is interested in the politics of the Empire and the world. Every section revised by the authorities on the spot throughout the Empire. Fifteen special writers and over a hundred other contributors collaborated in its production. Cross-referenced throughout, contains a Chronological Table of the History of the Empire since 1471, and an Index of over 25,000 references. Part III. (pp. 551-788) is prescribed for the Oxford Local Examinations in 1912.

LONDON: THE LEAGUE OF THE EMPIRE, CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER.

# PHILIPS' PRIMARY ATLAS OF

THE BRITISH EMPIRE. In attractive stiff cover, 1s., or strongly bound in scarlet buckram, 2s.

A series of 72 Maps and Diagrams attractively printed in colours on 24 crown 4to. plates, illustrating simply and graphically the varied Geographical and Climatological Conditions under which the inhabitants of our widespread Empire live.

This Atlas has been prepared under the direction of the League of the Empire in connection with their Imperial Text-Book Scheme, and will be followed by a larger Atlas for more advanced study.

LONDON: GEORGE PHILIP & SON, LTD., 32, FLEET STREET; AND THE LEAGUE OF THE EMPIRE, CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER.

## THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND ITS

HISTORY. By E. G. HAWKE, Matriculation Examiner in the University of London. With Maps and Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d. Secondary Course.

This is the second of the graded series of text-books on the history of the Empire edited by Professor A. F. Pollard for the League of the Empire. This volume is designed for use in the higher forms of Schools. It supplies a succinct account of the political, constitutional, social, industrial, and commercial development of every part of the British Empire. There is a growing movement towards a common matriculation examination for the whole Empire; and it is hoped that this volume will provide the history best suited in character and scope for such an Imperial examination. The book contains a number of illustrations.

LONDON: JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

# LEAGUE OF THE EMPIRE

FOUNDED 1901.

Telegraphic Address: "EMPIRLEA, LONDON." Telephone No.: VICTORIA 3094.

WITH WHICH IS INCORPORATED

## THE OVERSEAS LEAGUE.

### THE POSITION AND WORK OF THE LEAGUE.

The League is non-political and non-sectarian. Its practical work has been to promote co-operation between the different Countries and Colonies of the Empire, mainly in affairs connected with education, and to afford full and correct information regarding them, so that the duties of citizenship may be better understood and appreciated, and personal and active interest inspired in the great problems connected with our Empire's conditions and progress.

# RELATION OF THE LEAGUE TO THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS OF THE EMPIRE.

The official relation of the League to the Education Departments and Governments throughout the Empire has been regularised (a) through the recommendation of its work to the Governments concerned by the Colonial Office of the Imperial Government and by the Agents-General in 1902-3, (b) by the active and widespread acceptance of its schemes by the different Educational Authorities and Governments.

#### FEDERAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION.

In 1907 the League carried through the first Conference between the Education Departments of the Home and Colonial Governments. Over fifty representatives were appointed by the Governments and 750 others were appointed to attend by the Universities and Educational Associations throughout the Empire. One of the effects of this Conference was that the Imperial Government undertook to call the next Imperial Conference on Education in 1911. The Official Conference passed the following resolution: "That the delegates desire to express their appreciation of the value of this Conference to the work of the Education Departments throughout the Empire."

After the Conference the League was more formally appointed Agent to some of the Colonial Education Departments.

#### PUBLICATIONS.

The League has published a graded series of Text-Books on the Empire in cooperation with the different Countries and Colonies of the Empire. For further notices of these and other publications see overleaf.

#### IMPERIAL EDUCATION TRUST.

Founded by the League on Empire Day, 1909, with moneys supplied by Mr. Louis Spitzel.

#### THE OVERSEAS LEAGUE.

The work of the Overseas League (now incorporated with the League of the Empire) has been conducted mainly in the interests of British subjects residing in foreign countries; in promoting British trade and facilities for speedy and easy intercommunication. In Morocco its action resulted in the establishment of penny postage and other postal conveniences. This League has won the support of many business men for services rendered in regard to the redressing of such legitimate grievances.

#### BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL INFORMATION.

The establishment of a Bureau of Information. The following resolution was passed by the official Conference of 1907 in respect to this part of the work of the League: "That this Conference places on record its high appreciation of the work done by the League of the Empire in stimulating educational activity and in collecting and circulating information on educational subjects."

### ST. HELENA LACE INDUSTRY.

Another piece of practical work performed by the League in 1907 was the establishment of a Lace and Needlework School in St. Helena. The League drew up the estimates and asked the Colonial Office for a grant for the Island. This was given, and the League was commissioned to make all arrangements, and to act as Agent in England for the School. In 1908 the School was taken over by the Government. The lace is now judged by experts to be most excellently finished. It is on sale at the Offices of the League, and also at Messrs. Debenham and Freebody.

### MIGRATION OF TEACHERS FOR PURPOSES OF STUDY.

One of the principal schemes recommended by the Official Education Conference was the migration of teachers for purposes of study. Opportunities for study have been granted to the League by the London County Council and other bodies. Recommended to the League by their Education Departments, many teachers from different parts of the Empire have taken advantage of this scheme and have undertaken courses of study in Great Britain. Others have been enabled to pursue their studies on the Continent, and in the more distant parts of the Empire. Teachers have evinced much gratitude for the educational advantages provided, and the thanks of several of the Overseas Education Departments have been recorded.

#### EXHIBITIONS.

Educational Exhibitions have been held and sections of work have been supplied for the use of local Exhibitions and Schools, both at home and abroad.

#### SCHOOL AFFILIATION WORK.

Schemes for reciprocal work between schools and other educational institutions are in active operation. Hundreds of thousands of children are exchanging first-hand information with those in other parts of the King's Dominions through the School-linking schemes of the League. This work was initiated by the League in 1902.

### COMRADES' CORRESPONDENCE SECTION.

By means of this Section young people are put into communication with others of similar circumstances in different countries of the Empire. Personal intimacy is thus established, and wider interest created in private circles. This Branch was established in 1901, and numbers now over 21,000 members.

#### OTHER BRANCHES OF WORK.

The League provides introductions to persons migrating for work or study, extends home and overseas, the study of the stud

Amongst other work undertaken are the giving of lectures in public halls, and in all grades of schools; the circulation of leaflets, books and pictures, and the carrying out of Art and Essay Competitions.

#### EMPIRE DAY.

Since 1904 the League has taken an active part in furthering the celebration of Empire Day. In company with other Societies the League organized in 1909 the first public celebration of Empire Day in London, when the colours of the different Countries and Colonies of the Empire were for the first time trooped in Hyde Park, 10,000 children taking part in the parade, and, it was computed, over a million people being present. As a memento of this celebration, many of the Governments overseas have presented the League with the flags of their countries.

#### MEMBERSHIP.

#### ANNUAL COUNCILLOR'S SUBSCRIPTION, ONE GUINEA.

ANNUAL MEMBER'S SUBSCRIPTION, 10/6 AND 5/-

These Subscriptions entitle members to receive the "Federal Magazine" and Annual Report.

#### COMRADES' CORRESPONDENCE SUBSCRIPTION, 1/- AND 6d

Donations and Legacies are solicited in aid of the Imperial Education work of the League. Hon. Treasurer, Sir CHARLES LYALL, K.C.S.I. Cheques should be crossed "London, County and Westminster Bank."

Further information may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary (Mrs. Ord Marshall), League of the Empire, Caxton Hall, Westminster S.W.

# THE FEDERAL MAGAZINE

AND

## THE "ALL-RED" MAIL

(Junior Members' Section).

The Organ of the League of the Empire (with which is incorporated the Overseas League) and also of the Imperial Education Trust.

## Edited by E. M. ORD MARSHALL.

ISSUED MONTHLY, PRICE 3d.

FULLY ILLUSTRATED.

Contains articles on subjects of Imperial interest descriptive of everyday life in different countries of the Empire, of educational work, of natural history, of historical events, and of the great men in all spheres of action and learning. It issues first-hand information as to school gardens, and agricultural training, and from time to time contains unique articles on the smaller and less accessible colonies. It records the different activities of the League at home and overseas. It gives reviews of the newest books as well as of current overseas magazines and papers. For junjor readers there are also competitions of various kinds.

Specimen copies can be had from the League, Price 4d, post free.

## OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE FEDERAL CON-FERENCE ON EDUCATION, 1907.

CONVENED BY THE LEAGUE OF THE EMPIRE.

Report of the Federal Conference on Education, 1907, including all the Papers read at the different meetings, may be obtained at the Offices of the League,

PRICE 2s. 6d. PAPER, 3s. 6d. CLOTH, POSTAGE EXTRA.

The following is the Table of Contents:-

Introduction—List of Representatives and Delegates—The Opening Ceremonies—The Official Conference—The Full General Conference—The Open Meetings: University Section; History Section; Technical Education Section; Training of Teachers Section; Museum Section; Nature Study Section; Teaching of English Section—The Exhibition—Social Engagements—The Aylesbury Conference.

# HISTORICAL PLAYS FOR CHILDREN.

By AMICE MACDONELL.

With Illustrations by the Author. Crown 8vo., Paper covers, 6d. each net, postage 1d. Each Series also in Cloth, 3s. net, postage 4d.

FIRST SERIES.

ALFRED THE GREAT. ROBIN HOOD. THE ARMADA.
THE ENTERPRISE OF THE "MAYFLOWER."

SECOND SERIES.

SAXON AND NORMAN. MAGNA CARTA AND EDWARD III, (One-Act Plays in One Book). CAEDMON. THE BURGHERS OF CALAIS AND THE GOOD QUEEN (in One Book). THE CRUSADERS.

Other publications include Lectures, Literature for Empire Day, and Empire Songs. Lantern Sildes to illustrate the lectures are on sale or hire.

Badges for Empire Day and for other celebrations are supplied.

Copies of any of the above publications may be obtained at the Offices of the League of the Empire, Caxton Hall, Westminster.









DA 16 H36 1911 C.1 ROBA

